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WHAT in the world has come over our newspapers and, above all, the Associated Press? It is only the other day that the former were holding Admiral von Tirpitz up to scorn as the typical Prussian monster, the man chiefly responsible for the atrocities of the U-boat warfare and for its ruthless character, as the very worst type of the bureaucrats who controlled the Kaiser and plunged Germany into war in order to enslave the whole world. Yet within the last few days the Associated Press has cabled a long interview with this precious rascal which is the purest German jingo propaganda—propaganda for more big battleships and propaganda for trouble between the United States and our Allies, Japan and Great Britain. "Tirpitz Tells us England is False in her Friendship" is one headline; Tirpitz tells us to put our faith in big battleships and to keep our powder dry against Japan and England! Had such stuff appeared in a liberal weekly it would have been considered plain proof of pro-Germanism. As it is, it strikes us as entirely reprehensible wherever it appears. *The Nation* is as eager for the renewal of friendly relations between Germany and the United States as any one, but it draws the line on Von Tirpitz, Reventlow, and all their crowd against whom it was crusading long before the war, and it considers the Associated Press's dispatch and the attention given to it by our dailies as in the worst possible taste, besides throwing a melancholy light upon the sincerity of their professions of rage against the Kaiser's crew. Let us have no more of this waste of space, paper, and cable tolls.

DISARMAMENT is meeting with all the familiar obstacles. Four admirals solemnly vow that we must have control of the surface of the waters, control of the sub-surface, and control of the air, to one admiral who thinks that capital ships are a nuisance and played out. As usual the war of experts is on. They can never agree as to ships, or types, or policies, or whether the battleship is mightier than the seaplane, whether the present submarine is antiquated, whether we shall have two fleets or one, and if one whether in the Atlantic or the Pacific. In this battling of experts just one element is supremely lacking—plain common sense, together with some regard for the state of the Treasury. As for the Senate Naval Committee it swallows any stuff given to it by a naval officer; the New York *World* is well within the facts in suggesting Von Tirpitz as the proper chairman for it. Meanwhile, a semi-official Japanese spokesman insists that Japan must build while we build, General Bullard revives, to the cheers of the New York Republican Club, the familiar theory that disarmament is a "mere trick" which would mean for us Americans "the abandonment of our commercial and economic superiority over other nations"—so much for the brain power of this Lieutenant General! The Woman's Party in session in Washington voted overwhelmingly not to work for general disarmament, so that the sole encouraging features of last week were Senator Borah's plucky offering of his five-year naval holiday bill as an amendment to the Navy Appropriation Bill, and a protest to Bonar Law by powerful British merchants against spending priceless treasure on army and navy when British business is in such a grave state.

THE United States, under unprecedented taxation, may go right on building the largest navy in the world. Japan, despite the gravest industrial depression, may attempt to keep up the race. France may refuse to accept even the principle of disarmament. Yet where governments too long fail to respond to the needs of their harried peoples the people themselves may take a hand. Italian workers have shown the way. In the great F.I.A.T. plant in Turin they are refusing to manufacture arms and war material even for foreign countries. They have also declined to work on lorries which may be converted into military use. This is great news of direct action that is wholly justifiable.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S refusal to publish the Strickland report on the burning of Cork is a confession of guilt. We may feel assured that if General Strickland's investigation had led to other conclusions than those of the British Labor Party report (published with *The Nation* of January 26) the British Government would not have withheld it. The Labor Commission concluded that "the fires were caused by the Crown forces. . . . Things are being done in the name of Britain which must make her name stink in the nostrils of the whole world. The honor of our people has been gravely compromised. Not only is there a reign of terror in Ireland which should bring a blush of shame to every British citizen, but a nation is being held in

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subjection by an empire which has proudly boasted that it is the friend of small nations." Those were brave words, doing honor to Britain's ancient reputation for fairness. But Mr. Lloyd George, admitting that there have been "acts of indiscipline," says that "we have taken very severe measures in regard to a particular company involved"—and details them: "The officer in command has been suspended. With regard to the rest of the company it has been dissolved and its members put into other companies"! Such faint-hearted action when the heart of a great city has been burned by Crown forces discredits the officer of the Crown who calls it "very severe" and reveals the sickly temper in which he approaches the Irish problem. There can be no solution until English statesmen learn to take seriously the crimes of their agents as well as of their enemies.

LORD MILNER acts in the best of English tradition. His report on Egyptian self-government, which has at last been published, is a sane, restrained, wholesome document. It is far from meeting the demands of the Egyptian Nationalists, and we should like to see it go further, but it is not far from meeting the requirements of the political situation in England and in Egypt. When Lord Milner was sent to Egypt he was understood to have virtually plenipotentiary powers; but on his return subtle influences obtained the shelving of his report. He did the honorable thing, and resigned as Colonial Secretary. If the Carsons and Churchills continue to defeat all remnants of liberalism in the British Cabinet, they may doom the British Empire in its present form. Rejection of so moderate a program as Lord Milner's, which gives Egypt less independence than Canada and South Africa practice today, would be notice to the world that the common-sense liberalism which has made the British Empire the world force that it is, has become a thing of the past.

"WHEN Congress passed the Trading with the Enemy Act there was no intention to deprive alien enemies of title to their property," says Senator King in introducing a bill to return to German and Austrian nationals the property which was seized by the Alien Property Custodian. "Wrongs of the German Government do not," the Senator thinks, "warrant the confiscation of the private property of German nationals. It would be unjust and impolitic, and would contravene those higher conceptions of international morality and international duty which should obtain among nations in this enlightened age." Those "higher conceptions" have not played a large part in statesmanship these past seven years, in any country, but it would indeed be wise if Congress should vote a return to them in this matter. In all our conduct of the war there was nothing more utterly defenseless and shameful than the course of the Alien Property Custodian. Mr. Palmer justified his actions by announcing that they were retaliatory; but the report of the German Alien Property Custodian (published in the International Relations Section of *The Nation* for February 16) shows that there was no basis for his claim. The Germans treated American property in Germany decently and in accord with the tradition prevailing among honorable nations; we acted otherwise. It is high time to restore our good name. The precedent Mr. Palmer set would be a sorry business if the United States, with its growing interests abroad, were ever involved in another war. Fortunately that fact has begun to dawn upon some of our international financiers.

IN the wicked days before the war diplomats met about green baize tables and concocted agreements in secret; and they told the parliaments and the public just as much or as little about their conclusions as they thought it wise to tell—and that was very little. The war and the peace, it will be recalled, inaugurated a new era, that of open covenants openly arrived at. For instance, Secretary Colby writes to the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs that the negotiations with Japan constitute merely "a plenipotentiary comparison of views coupled with recommendations which are still the subject of examination" and that publication of the facts concerning them would be "premature." A few days later we read that the State Department has received the draft form of the Japanese mandate for the North Pacific islands, including the notorious island of Yap—but the draft is not published. Presumably it would be "premature" for anyone outside of the State Department to see it. Again, we learn that the "documents relating to the creation of the consortium for the economic development of China through loans to the Government" are not to be published after all. "Some Powers," we read, "are agreeable to the publication of the documents, in addition to an agreed statement of interpretation, but one Government wants some papers kept secret." We confess to an itch to see those documents, and the "agreed interpretation," and the text of the consortium itself, and feel we have a right to see them; but we must have misunderstood the meaning of "open covenants openly arrived at."

A BILL like that before the New York legislature for giving preference in the civil service to veterans of the European War is likely to be presented, if it has not already been, in almost all of our States in the next year or so. As *The Nation* has pointed out in connection with bonus legislation, the great debt that America owes is to the men who went to France not to come back. This can never be paid unless in better citizenship and by the development of a democracy such as their youthful vision conjured as they sailed away. Next to them, the country's greatest debt is to the wounded and otherwise incapacitated. This should be paid by generous pensions, by reeducation, and if necessary by special employment. Other ex-service men have few claims upon their country beyond those of other citizens. The worst way to deal with the question is to endanger the efficiency of the civil service by making it a charity home for ex-service men who cannot pass the regular tests. As an opponent of the measure at Albany aptly said, the bill would create a "roost for lame ducks" at the expense of trained State employees and the public welfare, and the same is true of the effort to give precedence in police departments to men who served abroad.

WELL, Alexander Howat, president of the Kansas District of the United Mine Workers, has been sentenced to a year in jail for violating an injunction against calling strikes, and arrested on a criminal charge for calling another strike, and the famous Kansas Court of Industrial Relations appears in the newspaper headlines every day; but somehow its functions seem to consist rather of punishing strikers than of stopping strikes. As a cure for industrial strife, it acts like an overdose, aggravating the disease. The New York *World* describes the whole business as "legal vaudeville" and calls the conception of a court to decide when men must work "fundamentally fallacious," adding that to imprison Howat "sets him on a pedestal and

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increases his influence." Meanwhile the strike continues, and Howat issues statements which ring with a sincerity of conviction and a readiness to go to jail for conviction's sake which are all too rare among professional labor leaders. "Neither injunctions nor the Industrial Court can stop strikes," he says. "We intend to continue fighting to try and establish some real democracy until the principles of free men and free women are again recognized and re-established in this State. In my opinion the legislative bodies which make the laws and the courts which interpret the laws and the large corporations of the country are working hand in hand and have joined together to chain men to their jobs and crush the life out of organized labor of the country and to establish the open shop everywhere."

WILLIAM JAMES probably never heard the word "bolshevik" in his life, and would undoubtedly ask explanations if some spiritualistic telegrapher should send him a message reporting that his moral equivalent for war was barred by the Entente Allies because it looked too much like bolshevism. Yet when the Bulgarian Government decided to introduce universal industrial service, a measure which today smacks of the Russian, in place of the old military service, the Council of Ambassadors scratched their wise old heads and finally forbade the measure, ruling that it was in violation of a clause of the Treaty of Neuilly forbidding the existence of any kind of military organization. It may be suspected that the Russian flavor of the proposal had as much to do with the prohibition as its resemblance to militarism; the ambassadors have shown considerably more worry in their own countries about phenomena which smack of Russia than those which smack of Prussia.

SO "peace" is the object of Henry Ford's Jew-baiting campaign. He says so in an interview printed by the New York *World*. Poor fool! Instead, by sowing dragon's teeth of calumny and hatred, he is destroying peace. Is Ford sincere? It matters little. Nero may have been sincere; the Spanish Inquisitors undoubtedly were; Kaiser Wilhelm II also believed in himself. Enthroned ignorance has always done more damage to the world than embattled viciousness. And ignorance seeps through every line of Ford's "investigation." Jews control the munitions industry, he says; and Jews were responsible for the war. What pathetic nonsense! Did we not hear the charge during the war that the Jews were pacifists? Slanderous lies and vilification are no new experience to the Jews. They have survived five thousand years of similar persecution. Mr. Ford's libels may inflame the ignorant. Yet the best response to his "educational articles" would perhaps be no response.

WHEN *The Nation*, in its issue of February 16, denounced the criminality of the payment of $59,000,000 since the fall of the Kerensky Government to the representatives of that defunct regime in the United States, the New York *Evening Post* and the Chicago *Evening Post* accused us of misrepresentation. We said that Nicholas Kelley, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, testified "that since the fall of the Kerensky Government the sum of $59,000,000 has been paid out by the United States to support the propaganda and dinners of the Russian gentry who have been living so high in Washington while we were deporting the real representative of the real de facto Russian Government." Mr. Kelley, our critics assured us, had said no such thing. He had testified to such a payment, but had said that it was used to pay for supplies ordered by the Kerensky Government, before its fall, of American manufacturers. That is technically true, but it in no way affects our thesis; our critics well know that those supplies were resold, and the proceeds used to support the propaganda and dinners of the Russian emigrés. Under-Secretary of State Davis has recently been reported as confirming this, and even as asserting that Mr. Bakhmeteff used part of the American credits directly to support his "Embassy." Mr. Davis added that American funds had "probably" financed Mr. Bakhmeteff's recent junket to Paris. Our critics would do well to tell their readers the whole truth.

THE latest Bolshevist outrage stiffens the remaining hairs of our heads. The Soviet, it appears, has ordered everybody in Moscow to go to the theater to see certain Communist propaganda plays. The penalty for refusal to attend the show is a fine, to be paid not in products of the Soviet money-presses but in food tickets—a sort of starvation penalty. Well, against anything like this we fight to the death. If our Government should insist upon ordering us to the theater, we don't propose to let any bureaucrat pick the play for us. Why, Washington might send us to see Lionel Barrymore in Macbeth, or Barrie's Mary Rose, or some Midnight Follies, or John Hawthorne, or John Drew, or Jane Cowl—or another bit of anti-bolshevist propaganda like Poldekin—but we forbear. Starvation for a week would be endurable by preference. At the same time we must admit there is something to be said from the theatrical manager's point of view for this method of making a long run a certainty. If all Moscow is to go to it the play will certainly appear for many weeks to "crowded houses" before it starts on its tour of the provinces, from Petrograd to Lake Baikal. But for us, well, we should prefer the sleeping sickness to enforced theater going by order of an A. Mitchell Palmer, or a Burleson, or a Mayor Hylan, or any other of our Commissars of Public Safety.

THE spiritual reconstruction of mankind is in actual progress and signs multiply that the universal city of the mind, at least, is being rebuilt. In the London *Chapbook* for January there is a note by Robert Bridges, whose official connection with English literature as poet laureate lends it an added weight, which is a model of the temper that alone can save us. In November, 1918, Dr. Bridges published a sonnet in the *Times* in which, to use his own analysis, he asserted (1) that ill-treatment of prisoners was a part of the Prussian war policy; (2) that no one in Germany protested against it; (3) that the Germans hoped the English would be provoked into similar barbarities. "It is plain," Dr. Bridges now comments, "that the second and third charges fall unless the first be true. And it was not true. Yet I believed it, having been misled, as most of us were, by the newspapers. And that being so, I am not ashamed of retracting my words and expressing sorrow for having written them. And I can see that as I was misled by the English press, so the Germans probably were by their own, and that they have the same excuse for some of their ill-feeling as I have for mine." Thus the fierce and bloody legends crumble in every land. But we must be on our guard against those whose business and profit lie in rebuilding them.

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The Passing of Mr. Wilson

IF history deals gently with Woodrow Wilson it will portray him as one who wrought mightily by proclaiming ideals and painting them in moving terms. If it deals with him in the truth of justice it must also point out how universally he failed to achieve those ideals. In so far as it profits the world to have higher and nobler aims held up before it, so far shall Mr. Wilson's praises be sung. He gave first to his countrymen and then to the world new and lofty visions, and visions and ideals are apt to endure even after their authors turn aside from them. But how much does the world really profit when millions believed they beheld the dawning of a new world and the coming of peace on earth only to have their spirits utterly dashed, to be deprived of their last vestige of hope, to lose their last bit of faith in an earthly salvation? Over the answer to this question the historians will wrangle for centuries as they seek to assay one of the most extraordinary figures in history, a man unique in our American Presidency, who had it within his grasp to rank second only to the great prophets in the annals of mankind, before whom multitudes came to pray—and remained to scoff.

How far they scoffed with justice, we cannot yet wholly tell. We are too near the man; the antagonisms such a coldly intellectual and austere character, such a double personality, inevitably engenders are still too keen, the disappointments of Paris too bitter. We cannot yet measure fully the carrying power of some of the ideals Mr. Wilson sponsored, nor can we, for instance, tell the outcome of the League of Nations, which, General Smuts says, is to be "one of the most potential things in the future of mankind," because it "came from the hearts of peoples and embodied inspirations born out of the sufferings of the late war,"—the League is largely the creation of Mr. Wilson. We cannot yet gauge how great the influence of Mr. Wilson upon our domestic political life will prove to be, nor how far the doctrines of his "New Freedom" will emerge after the black political reaction in which we find ourselves—if they emerge at all. Again, profound questions remain unsolved, to which no critic and no adulator has yet furnished the answers. What, for instance, changed the Woodrow Wilson who kept us out of war in November, 1916, and declared, January 22, 1917, that there "must be a peace without victory. . . . Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. . . . and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest not permanently but only as upon quicksand," to the Wilson who sought war in April, 1917? Who can explain the paradox that the author of the Fourteen Points returned from Paris claiming that he had achieved them? Until these deep mysteries are explained we shall not be able fully to judge Wilson the man.

If we would write in all charity, we must needs point out how he gave to the country the "modified Rooseveltism" which he believed it desired; how he revised the tariff, gave us the income tax, and aided us to the Federal Reserve Banking System, which has proved an inestimable benefit. We must record as well how at that time he led the people to hope for a real renaissance of liberalism in America, to look for the end of the reign of special privilege in the United States, how he aspired to separate "big business" from politics, and how he called for a revolution—"not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood [!]—but a silent revolution," which never came, the very hope for which vanished as we plunged into war and into foreign complications. But ever by the side of these incitements to freedom and progress must be set fateful queries. Did we, and he, "humanize every process of our common life" as he prophesied we should under his leadership, or "balance the claims of property against the processes of liberty"? Did democracy come to Princeton because of his gallant fight for it; or purity to New Jersey's political life because he sat by the open door of the Governor's room at Trenton and battled for the "Seven Sisters," those statutes which were to place the people of that State once more in possession of their own government? Did our fateful entrance into the World War bring a durable peace, or safeguard democracy, or the rights of small nations, or establish a single one of the Fourteen Points—that glorious vision of a world remade. Does not every hour's news and every day's events since Versailles prove to the hilt the truth of these words of Mr. Wilson:

> Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory, or of racial and national allegiance.

It was at Buffalo, before the American Federation of Labor, November 12, 1917, that Mr. Wilson declared that he had a contempt for pacifists because "I want peace, but I know how to get it, and they do not." Today one can but recall these words and marvel how little has been the actual achievement for peace of the man who uttered them, how colossal the opportunities lost, how staggering the defeated idealism, how limited the sum total accomplished. Versailles answers him now, and perishing Europe, and the bitter memories upon which the terms of peace indeed "rest not permanently but only as upon quicksand"; so do children of a dozen nations that die by the hundred thousand today because statesmen would have peace with victory; and the cutting memory of our political prisoners, our tortured soldiers of conscience, the breaches in our fundamental liberties, the bitternesses existing within our citizenship.

Now for truth's sake it must be written down that as Mr. Wilson passes the curtain falls upon the greatest tragedy in our history. William Dean Howells once declared that there were but two great tragic and dramatic figures in our past, John Brown and Abraham Lincoln. Surely we may now add Woodrow Wilson as well. For what could be greater tragedy than to have ruled eight years and to have left so few enduring marks upon our institutions; to have preached visions and ideals to one's countrymen for eight years, only to yield office to the most material, the most sightless Administration ever to begin its rule in America. If Mr. Wilson could but have learned from John Bright that *"War is the grave of all good, whether in administration or legislation,* and it throws power into the hands of the most worthless of the class of statesmen!" Probably only an Aeschylus could do Woodrow Wilson justice today. Certainly no element of the somberest Greek tragedy will be lacking in Washington when Woodrow Wilson leaves office.

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A Government Savings System

SUGGESTIONS intended to transform our Postal Savings System into a great people's savings bank have recently been made by Herbert Hoover, Eugene Meyer, Jr., and others before the Committee on Reconstruction and Production of the United States Senate. The existing organization of the Postal Savings System was justly characterized as inadequate and unfair, and the advantages of a new policy, both to the Government and to the public, were set forth in a way that deserves the widest notice and the most insistent popular response. Mr. Hoover properly characterized as insufficient the 2 per cent interest established by law, but he said further:

> Even the 2 per cent of the original act has been defeated by departmental regulations. An examination of any annual report will show that they do not receive much in excess of 1 per cent, owing to the regulations in force. For instance, in 1918, the average deposits were approximately between $125,000,000 and $130,000,000 and the interest paid to depositors $1,259,000. The same reports will show that profits obtained by the Government in 1918, chiefly from redeposits in banks at 2½ per cent, are given as $1,135,000. If a complete balance sheet were made from the beginning, this return would probably represent at least a 100 per cent per annum profit on any capital invested by the Government. Such an operation in private banks would be dignified by the term "profiteering" and a public demand would require investigation by the Attorney-General.

Mr. Hoover advocated an immediate change in the departmental regulations which allow interest only on sums that have been on deposit for a whole year from the first of each month. In place of this method he would carry out the spirit of the law by paying one-half per cent quarterly on average deposits. But he would not stop there; he would provide a higher rate of interest to be paid on money remaining on deposit for as long as a year, and he would reorganize the Postal Savings System at the top so as to give it a more genuine banking directorate.

Mr. Meyer, formerly managing director of the War Finance Corporation, proposes that the rate of interest on postal savings be increased from 2 to 4 per cent, and he would enlarge the number of post offices authorized to receive deposits from 6,500, as at present, to 55,000, the total number of post offices and sub-stations. He commendably suggests that the Government, having established the Federal Reserve System for the benefit of bankers and business men, ought now to provide banking facilities for the masses. Mr. Meyer thinks that such arrangement would bring in enough money in a year to pay off the floating indebtedness of the Government, amounting to $2,500,000,000, and that subsequently deposits would increase to an amount sufficient to pay off a large part, if not all, of the Victory Loan of more than four billion dollars. Mr. Meyer may or may not be right in these amazing calculations, but he has hit the nail on the head in coming out for an interest rate of 4 per cent on postal savings deposits. Certain bankers may cry that it is unsound and impossible, but we have a right to question their motives. The banking interests in general fear any curtailment of their activities and their profits, and will be found opposing any genuine evolution of the Postal Savings System just as the express companies, and the railroads that control them, fought successfully for so many years the introduction of the parcel post. The United States was one of the last countries of the civilized world to establish a parcel post. No one would think of abolishing it now. Is it also going to bring up the rearguard in extending to its people banking facilities that will be safe and at the same time give to the small depositor a fair return on his savings?

Most European countries do better by the depositors in their post-office banks than do we. For a period before the World War France was paying 3 per cent on deposits, and that at a time when such interest was about the maximum obtainable on Government bonds or other first-class securities. As a plain business proposition it would seem to be good sense for the Government to borrow money of the people at 4 per cent rather than pay more for it in other ways. The situation is not what it was before we entered the European War. At that time the Government did not need to borrow money; it acted as a trustee in accepting deposits through the post offices as a convenience to the public. Now conditions have changed. The Government must borrow money to meet its current expenses and interest charges. The Treasury only recently put out an issue of short-time certificates at 5¾ per cent. These, it goes without saying, were offered in large denominations to banks and not to the general public. Such interest is not for the small investor; he is still invited to buy war savings stamps at 4 per cent.

It may be objected that a Postal Savings System paying 4 per cent would injure the savings banks. Mr. Meyer does not think so. He points out that in countries where the postal system is strong savings banks are also prosperous, and he believes that his plan would stimulate thrift and save many small investors from fraud and folly. In any event savings banks could probably find a fair field for themselves by paying slightly more than the Government. Of course it is not desirable that savings banks should be forced or encouraged to raise their rates to borrowers, but they are already earning more on bonds and other investments than formerly. The savings banks of New York City, for instance, are paying 4 per cent at the present time; but they were paying that before the World War, since when interest rates generally have risen at least 1 per cent. What are savings banks doing with their larger earnings? Is it all needed for administrative expenses and salaries?

One thing certainly could not continue if the Postal Savings System were to pay 4 per cent. The Government could not go on redepositing in commercial banks *at 2½ per cent.* This is the crying scandal of the present system, that the Government should take advantage of the poor and ignorant to get their money at 1 per cent, that it should make a present of it to the banks at 2½ per cent, and that the latter, according to evidence furnished by the Controller of the Currency, should then extort from 10 to 30 per cent on some of their loans! We may as well face the issue frankly. The Postal Savings System, as it exists, is not conducted to benefit the people; it is run so as not to worry the banks. Are we going to continue it on that basis, or are we going to turn it into a great Government savings institution, paying to the depositor the full value that his money earns minus only administrative expenses?

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North Dakota and the Banks

THE newspapers lately have printed dispatches telling of an agreement between leaders of the National Nonpartisan League and a group of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Chicago bankers whereby the latter undertook to help North Dakota out of its financial difficulties at the price of the State's abandoning important parts of its industrial program. Early reports gave the outstanding demands of the bankers as the liquidation of the State-owned Bank of North Dakota and its reorganization as a rural credits institution, like that of South Dakota; a reduction of the powers of the Industrial Commission; and the abandonment of the Home Building Association. In return, the financiers offered to take $6,000,000 worth of State bonds. On behalf of the League it was denied that the concessions exacted were anywhere near as sweeping as these, while later reports are that the banks have decided not to take the bonds even on the conditions outlined.

Two things, however, are already clear. One is that, whatever happens, the North Dakota industrial program is likely to be curtailed or postponed in substantial particulars. If the State cannot float its bond issue direct, its own officers will have to apply the knife; if bankers take the bonds, they will demand their pound of flesh. The other thing that needs no further revelation is the frank, direct, and unabashed control of the policies of a sovereign State exercised by the financial interests in and about it. North Dakota's plight is due mainly to these financial interests and only in a lesser degree to recent hard times. Had the State been allowed to float its bonds when they were approved by referendum of the people in 1919, it would probably have been spared its present difficulties. But the flour mills, the elevator companies, and, beyond all, the banks saw a chance for a first blow at the system of marketing and credit service at cost for which the farmers were working, and the bond issue was stopped by injunction. It was not until last June that obstruction was finally cleared away by a favorable decision by the United States Supreme Court. By that time the general financial situation had made the sale of a bond issue difficult. On top of this setback another monkey-wrench was thrown into the machinery last November. The law creating the Bank of North Dakota had required that all State, county, and municipal funds be deposited in it, but at the last election enemies of the League succeeded in getting through a referendum making it possible for counties and municipalities to withdraw their money. This depleted the already insufficient funds of the Bank of North Dakota, and it was obliged to call its loans to country banks. All this was happening at a time of great industrial depression among farmers, and the result was the closing of many small financial institutions, not as many in North Dakota, however, as failed in Georgia in the same period. The country banks were recently reported as ready to cry quits and help straighten the State's finances, but have apparently lacked the resources or the willingness to do so. The big banks of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Chicago were then called upon, but their interest in saving the financial situation in North Dakota is, of course, less than their desire to save the system of exploiting the farmer that has made some of them rich. Hence the pound of flesh which they demand.

Probably there is still a way out, without compromise, if the North Dakota officials have the courage and the time to take it. Since the bond issue was first offered, the rate of interest has been raised to a yield of 5¾ per cent, which with the fact that the securities are exempt from income tax should make them attractive to investors. There is every reason to believe that these securities of one of our great agricultural States could be sold direct to the public if offered in the East and properly advertised. But in any event the industrial program of North Dakota is not dead, nor have the farmers of that State failed in their effort toward economic freedom. At the worst, the result is only postponed, and regardless of what happens in North Dakota, similar experiments will be made elsewhere. North Dakota's plight is a shining example of ruthless and open nullification of our present democracy when it attempts to run counter to the great financial interests that are the dominating power. Within the present year, these interests have floated a loan for South Dakota, without conditions, because that State has not challenged their suzerainty. The position of North Dakota ought to convince all observers of the futility of mere political action. The real lesson for the workers is not to keep out of banking but to get into it up to the neck. Money is the munitions of the industrial fight, and the workers can no more expect a supply from those who oppose them than the Allies could have borrowed shells from Germany during the European War. It is time for organized labor, farmers, and small business men to stop railing at the money power, and to begin to compete with it.

Our Aliens and Our Arts

THE rumor that the Drama League intended to bar Charles Gilpin from its annual dinner because he is a Negro, though it had been voted that he belonged among the ten persons who during the past year have made the most distinguished contribution to dramatic art in the United States, called forth a protest among the other guests of honor which was as gratifying as it was prompt and emphatic. Seven of them—Jacob Ben-Ami, Dudley Digges, Mary Garden, Robert Edmond Jones, Eugene G. O'Neill, Lee Simonson, and Gilda Varesi—announced that if Mr. Gilpin were not invited they themselves would not attend; neither, it is probable, would David Belasco and Arthur Hopkins, though they made no announcement; and the members of the Theater Guild issued a public statement directed against this alleged discrimination. That the rumor has subsequently been called hasty by the Drama League and that matters may be adjusted does not destroy the significance of the episode. These distinguished artists have clearly shown that they leave to the gentlemen of the Ku Klux Klan and to the mob, North or South, the dainty business of discriminating against a man by reason of his African descent, no matter how engaging his personality or how distinguished his accomplishment. Whatever the United States may be, the world of art is a republic.

The episode is the more significant in view of the controversies here and there stirring over the true color and quality of the national genius. At one extreme are the rock-bound nativists, the besotted Anglo-Saxons, who point with rapture to the Puritan tradition and with pride to the older days of Little America before the Civil War. This party tends to a certain strange combination of violent patriotism and nostalgic hankering for England which makes them

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often ridiculous. At the other extreme are certain coteries in New York that know and care nothing for the traditions of the nation's heroic days, neglect the American past, ridicule the home-bred simplicity of the bulk of the population. This party is as a rule contemptuously cosmopolitan; and it too is often ridiculous. The conflict between the two brings up strange thoughts in the philosophical spectator. Consider, for instance, the war of the Anglo-Saxon party upon the party of the Continent. For the most part the argument turns upon the nine points of possession. "We were here first," say the Anglo-Saxons, "and we have borne the burden and heat of the day. The land and culture are ours." When we hear this we cannot help thinking of the descendants of the Dutch who settled New Netherland. In Irving's day they were still grumbling at the nasal, grabbing saints to the east of them. Nor can we help thinking about the Red men whom Dutch and English alike encroached upon and crowded out. Once the Anglo-Saxons start the argument for priority they start toward the ludicrous. As to the culture of the United States being merely that of England transplanted, the notion is silly. Many elements have gone into the mass, and new elements are being added every year. The new come in as a rule on the proletarian level and only gradually rise to expression and significance; but they do rise and they are making a new nation of us. Yet the fabric of American culture is primarily English, no matter what patterns have been written on it.

Why may not brothers dwell together in unity? We have come hither from all the corners of the earth for motives not half so different as we sometimes think. The children of the Puritan who came to escape the religious persecutions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of England in the seventeenth century ought to understand the mood of the Jew who in the twentieth has come to escape the Black Hundreds of Russia. The children of the Scotch-Irish whom the British government drove out by political and economic oppression in the eighteenth century have no right to withhold their sympathy from the children of the Germans whom the German governments drove out by similar oppressions a century later. A natural bond unites the children of our former slaves with all who in various generations of our history have been exploited and despised toilers at our heaviest tasks. Shall those of us who were here first turn now and persecute the new-comers as the Puritans did when heresy crept in? Shall those who came later overpower and oppress their hosts as the Protestants served the Catholics in Maryland? Our hope lies rather in our fusion of many cultures. We are still, for all the changes that have taken place in three hundred years, a laboratory for the Old World, where a great human experiment is being carried on. Of late we have proved lamentably recreant to our duty in the political sphere: hatreds and recriminations and tyrannies have sprung up; the established order has set itself against all progress in the direction toward which we have always moved. How much, then, is it essential that we shall keep these antagonisms out of the sphere of art and letters and learning, where they must always be meaningless! Let us have schools which vary in their programs as all varied cultures do; Byron and Wordsworth were contemporaries, Brahms and Wagner, Rousseau and Voltaire. Let realism war with romance, naturalism with traditionalism, perennial beauty with temporary utility. But in the name of Apollo and all the joyous gods let these matters not be marred by snubs due to racial or national antipathies!

The Wicked Blanton

WHEN Representative Blanton of Texas recently was howled down by his colleagues in the House of Representatives, the papers connected the affair with his campaign for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator from Texas. As a matter of fact, his distinguished colleagues do not care a fig for the Senatorial primaries in the Lone Star State; but they had a grudge against Representative Blanton. He is not clubby.

If there is one thing which brings a Congressman into general detestation among his colleagues, it is a refusal to be clubby. The House usually meets about eleven in the morning, but very few Congressmen find it convenient to attend at so early an hour. There is seldom a quorum present. Business has to be done, and under the rules of the House bills can be passed even without a quorum if no squeamish or unclubby Congressman calls attention to the fact. But morning after morning, just as a vote is imminent, Mr. Blanton, of Texas, or Mr. McClintic, of Oklahoma, rises and cries out, "Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that there is no quorum present." "It is clear that there is no quorum present," the Speaker replies. "The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant-at-Arms will notify the absentees, and the Clerk will call the roll." So the gong sounds, and the indignant Congressmen in the House Office Building are routed out, and have to parade through the subway into the Capitol where they stay just long enough to answer to their names, and then trot back to their offices. It is truly very distressing.

So in high Congressional style the gentlemen from the various States of the Union planned a surprise party for Mr. Blanton. It seems that Mr. Blanton had sent a statement to the newspapers of his State which gave the impression that he had stood like a lone stone wall against the attempts of his fellow-Congressmen to raise their own pay. Mr. Sumners, also of Texas, led the counter-attack:

> Here is a man standing in his place here who has taken an oath with the people of my nation to support and defend its institutions, and he sends a statement to Texas that is false as hell. . . . I would suffer that right arm torn from its shoulder this day—and I believe it is true of the other brave men from my State—before we would undertake at this time to increase our salary. . . . Ah, they say that all is fair in politics. My God, all fair in politics in an hour of the world's peril when my nation stands upon the highest pinnacle ever reached by a nation in the world's history, and holds in its hands the hope of the ages!

Mr. Sumners indignantly declared that it was not Mr. Blanton who had stopped the pay increase; he added:

> We used to have an old coon dog who was no good to trail a coon and who was no good to fight a live one. When you shot a coon out of a tree and he was dead, and when every dog in the neighborhood knew that he was dead, then this old coon dog of ours was the fightenest dog on earth.

Mr. Blanton attempted to reply. But Mr. Madden, Mr. Snyder, Mr. Knutson, Mr. Hicks, Mr. Venable, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Strong objected loudly and at length. Mr. Blanton could only state that Mr. Sumners also wanted the nomination for Senator from Texas. Whereupon, having devoted the better part of an hour, with an unusually full attendance, to punishment of Mr. Blanton, the House turned to other matters. It is inspiring to have Congress rise to such heights of patriotic indignation against the unclubby.

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Alice Paul Pulls the Strings

By FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE spirit of the National Woman's Party convention at Washington last week was summed up in two striking sentences. Said a disheartened delegate after the last day's session: "This is the machine age." Said one of the leaders of the Party to another delegate who tried to plead for a free consideration of a real program: "At a convention human intelligence reaches its lowest ebb." That was what it amounted to: the leaders acted on the theory of an amiable contempt for their followers; the rank and file, either cynically or enthusiastically, watched the wishes of the leaders become the law of the convention. With quiet precision the Woman's Party machine—a veritable tank—rolled over the assembly, crushing protestants of all sorts, leaving the way clear—for what? If anyone left the convention with a distinct idea of what the Party will do now that it has solemnly disbanded and solemnly reorganized, it is, perhaps, Alice Paul and the Executive Committee and some members of the Advisory Council and a few State chairmen. The rank and file, not realizing that their intelligence was at a low ebb, are vaguely disappointed. They do not know what their party will do; they only know that no action was taken in behalf of the Negro women, who have not yet got the vote in spite of the Nineteenth Amendment; that birth control and maternity endowment and most of the questions that stir the minds of modern women were ignored; that disarmament was ruled out; and that the program finally adopted—the majority report of the resolutions committee—declared vaguely against "legal disabilities" and for "equality" leaving the future definition of those terms and their translation into action to the executive board. The only specific application of the word equality appeared in the demand that it be "won and maintained in any association of nations that may be established"!

It may, of course, be asserted that since this mild and hypothetical program was adopted by a vote of the convention it was therefore the will of the convention, but one is forced to wonder whether the result would have been the same if a dissenting delegate or a minority committeeman had presented the winning report, and if Alice Paul's program had included disarmament or birth control or the enfranchisement of Negro women. I, for one, would back Miss Paul's chances on either side she chose to support. When the minority report recommending disarmament was before the house it was opposed vehemently by several ardent militarists of the order who declare: "I am as much against war as anybody in this room, but when the world is on fire . . . " From the point of view of the leaders this opposition was undesirable; the majority report would only be weakened by militarist adherents. Presently the floor was taken by a well-known pacifist who set herself squarely on the side of immediate, complete disarmament and then proceeded on other grounds to an effective attack on the disarmament program. Later in the day this same pacifist —who is also a radical and a feminist—had a program of her own in the field in opposition to the majority report. This new dissenting program was specific. It demanded, in addition to the removal of the legal disabilities of women, the rewriting of the existing laws of marriage, divorce, guardianship, and sexual morality on a basis of equality; the abolition of illegitimacy; the establishment of motherhood endowment and of the legal right of a woman who chooses homemaking as her profession to an equal share in the family income; the repeal of all laws against the dissemination of information regarding birth control.

These proposals were sternly opposed by the machine. The leaders declared that such a program was too vague; they declared that it was too definite; they declared that it was too comprehensive; they claimed that the majority program could be interpreted to include all those demands and more besides. But in expounding the majority program they were cautious; not one of the leaders specifically stated, for example, that it should be interpreted to cover the question of birth control. "And after all, that's the acid test," said one of the younger delegates. The new program received the support of a few of the less orthodox members of the Advisory Council, but its most persuasive advocates were among the young Party workers who charged that the majority report offered no more inspiration than the programs of other women's organizations which they had long been trained to look down upon as cautious, respectable, dull. Again the leaders were worried; they couldn't let the idea get about that only middle-aged respectability stood for the majority report. And presently a couple of the younger workers rose from their seats and opposed the radical program and swore by all the suffrage prophets that the majority report offered inspiration enough for any feminist. And it was well known to those who hung about in the lobby or watched the play from the wings, that Alice Paul had spoken the word necessary to make the pacifist oppose disarmament and the young radicals oppose the radical program.

Some day the story of the working of the National Women's Party machine will be told. It will be an interesting story, full of strange contradictions. It will tell of valiant self-sacrifice and magnificent defiance coupled with an incongruous willingness to appeal to the tradition of feminine weakness. It will be full of idealism and steadfast purpose and yet of a readiness to use any trick or pretense that might bring that purpose nearer to fulfilment. It will tell of independence and individual heroism existing side by side with obedience bordering on subservience. It will show sympathy and ruthlessness walking together. But that story cannot be written until the people who know it get out from under the spell of the Alice Paul legend. Today any attempt would be futile.

The efforts—finally successful—of the birth control advocates to secure a chance to speak at the convention would form an amusing chapter of that story. At the second day's session representatives of women's organizations with legislative programs made brief addresses stating their aims. Even old-time enemies of the Woman's Party were given a place. For weeks before the convention the head of the Voluntary Parenthood League had been in correspondence with the Party leaders demanding her chance to be heard. First the leaders refused, then they demurred, finally they surrendered; but their written objections to the presence of this organization on the platform of the convention were redolent with the faint fragrance of Victorian delicacy and reserve.

The efforts—wholly unsuccessful—of the representatives

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of the colored women would form a tragic chapter of the same story. A delegation of sixty women sent by colored women's organizations in fourteen States arrived in Washington several days before the convention. They requested an interview with Alice Paul so that they might take up with her the question of the disfranchisement of the women of their race. They were told Miss Paul was too busy to see them. They said they would wait till she had time. Finally, grudgingly, she yielded. The colored women presented their case in the form of a dignified memorial—which read as follows:

We have come here as members of various organizations and from different sections representing the five million colored women of this country. We are deeply appreciative of the heroic devotion of the National Woman's Party to the women's suffrage movement and of the tremendous sacrifices made under your leadership in securing the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment.

We revere the names of the pioneers to whom you will do honor while here, not only because they believed in the inherent rights of women, but of humanity at large, and gave themselves to the fight against slavery in the United States.

The world has moved forward in these seventy years and the colored women of this country have been moving with it. They know the value of the ballot, if honestly used, to right the wrongs of any class. Knowing this, they have also come today to call your attention to the flagrant violations of the intent and purposes of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment in the elections of 1920. These violations occurred in the Southern States, where is to be found the great mass of colored women, and it has not been made secret that wherever white women did not use the ballot, it was counted worth while to relinquish it in order that it might be denied colored women.

Complete evidence of violations of the Nineteenth Amendment could be obtained only by Federal investigation. There is, however, sufficient evidence available to justify a demand for such an inquiry. We are handing you herewith a pamphlet with verified cases of the disfranchisement of our women.

The National Woman's Party stands in the forefront of the organizations that have undergone all the pains of travail to bring into existence the Nineteenth Amendment. We can not then believe that you will permit this amendment to be so distorted in its interpretation that it shall lose its power and effectiveness. Five million women in the United States can not be denied their rights without all the women of the United States feeling the effect of that denial. No women are free until all are free.

Therefore, we are assembled to ask that you will use your influence to have the convention of the National Woman's Party appoint a special committee to ask Congress for an investigation of the violations of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment in the elections of 1920.

Miss Paul was indifferent to this appeal and resented the presence of the delegation. Their chance of being heard at the convention was gone. A Southern organizer told the one active supporter of the colored women—a white woman and a delegate from New York—that the Woman's Party was pledged not to raise the race issue in the South; that this was the price it paid for ratification. But no such sinister motive is necessary to explain the treatment of the colored delegation; they were simply an interruption, an obstacle to the smooth working of the machine. Their leading members were not allowed to ride in the elevators of the Hotel Washington where the convention was held, until finally they made a stand for their rights. And only by the use of tactics bordering on Alice Paul's own for vigor and persistence, did their spokesman—the delegate from New York—get a moment to present a resolution in their behalf—a resolution which was promptly defeated and which left the question precisely where it stood.

The attitude of Alice Paul and her supporters toward these disturbers of the peace—Negro women and birth control advocates alike—was the attitude of all established authorities. "Why do these people harass us?" asked Miss Paul. "Why do they want to spoil our convention?" The answer, that never occurred to her, was this: "For the very same reason that made you disturb the peace and harass the authorities in your peculiarly effective and irritating way: because they want to further the cause they believe in."

In the lobby, among the futile opponents of the machine, there was much discussion of the cause of their leaders' hostility to all that was new and clear-cut. The great fighting issue was gone; if the organization was to continue it must turn its attention to other issues and work for them one at a time or several together, not only in Congress but in the States. Would the leaders evolve out of their vague program an issue which they could again attack with military precision and on which they could hope again to raise their disciplined volunteer army? Would they justify their tactics, as they had so often done before, by the brilliant success of their results? Or were they only greedy of power, eager to hold the final decision close in their own hands, unwilling to trust to the desires of their followers? Or were they, perhaps, only half awake to the fulness of life? Absorbed in a task of immense proportions, for years they had forfeited, as soldiers must, the common enterprises of life—love, marriage, children, the economic struggle. Had they thereby lost touch with the plain demands of modern women who are more interested in their opportunties for personal expansion and economic freedom and the right to bear children when they choose than they are in the presence of women in the councils of an unborn or dying league of nations? The opponents of the machine never decided those questions; the Alice Paul legend hung too closely over them and its phrases sounded in their ears through the closed doors of the convention hall.

The Days

By DAVID ROSENTHAL

The days come upon the world
Like wolves;
Yet there is no armor
Against the days.
There are doors of iron
Against the fists of wind and rain;
There are walls
Against the storm;
But where shall the stones and hills run
When they are besieged by the days?
Where shall a man hide?
In a deep cave?
In a house of stone?
The days will slink in
And open their mouths
Like wolves;
For wherever a man is
There is a hungry day eating him.

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What Wage Reductions Mean

By GEORGE SOULE

IF I were an employer announcing a wage reduction at this moment I should feel a little embarrassed. It is taken for granted that I should be a just employer, wanting to do the best possible thing by my workmen, and that I should be well informed. My information would show me that during the rise in the price level from 1914 to 1917, the average wage did not rise as rapidly as the cost of living. In these three years the wage-earners were, on the whole, able to buy fewer things than they had bought before the war. During the same period, however, my profits and buying power had increased enormously—even after the inroads of taxes. Perhaps I was abstemious, perhaps I invested the greater part of my profits in my own or some other business, but the chances are I loosened the purse strings a little. During short periods in 1918 and 1919 some of my employees—but not all—possibly did reach and surmount the price level. Yet their advance was not comparable to the rise in business earnings, which were piled up in unparalleled profits and surpluses. Now the cost of living has gone down a little from the peak of last July, but not more than 15 per cent. The earnings of labor have automatically been reduced by the fall in over-time and full-time employment. No workman is now as well off as he was in 1913 unless his income amounts to twice as much as it did in that year. Yet I am going to him with, perhaps, a 20 per cent wage reduction. I am about to push him down again below his pre-war level. By doing this I admit that in dealing with my workmen it is a case of "heads I win, tails you lose." They lost coming up by being late, and they lose going down by being early.

But it was taken for granted that I am not only well informed, but also just. Why, then, do I enforce this premature wage reduction? Let us assume that my policy in not raising wages more rapidly from 1914 to 1919 was necessary. But why do I compound the injustice now?

There are, doubtless, many ungenerous employers who are reducing wages merely because unemployment gives them the opportunity. For them there is no excuse, and the remedy is the simple one of a resistance as strong as organized labor is able to muster. But I am not in that class. What other reason can I give? My workmen point to their wages and the cost of living. They point to my former profits and my surplus. And they ask me to explain the discrepancy.

In the first place, I demonstrate that my former earnings do not help me now. I spent them as they came along. Part went into my salary and the other executive salaries. Part went into taxes. Part went into dividends paid to my shareholders. Some, perhaps, went into loans to finance my customers—especially customers abroad who are taking a long time to pay. It is quite possible that a large slice went into stock dividends—that is, that I issued new capital stock and gave it away to myself and to other owners on the expectation of continued large earnings—and this part now represents a liability instead of an asset. Part went into new plant and machinery which is now lying idle and must be carried on my books at a loss for awhile. And part went into surplus. Profits, as such, have largely vanished with the collapse of business. Even my goods on hand, which I have called an asset and reckoned as profits, have shrunk so much in price that my profits are less than I thought. I cannot pay new wages out of past profits.

But what about my surplus? If I have been wise, a large share of my earnings were not spent, but "saved." Yet the surplus does not consist of gold dollars in my safe, or in the safe of a bank. Of course I wanted to draw interest on it, and so I used it to buy stocks and bonds, mortgages or other commercial paper. The interest which I derive from these sources may be large, but most of it, in the shortage of present profits, must be applied to the payment of interest on my own bonds and loans. Not until after all other demands are met can it be used for wages. And the surplus itself cannot be converted into currency without selling the stocks and bonds in which it is invested. But the market is now at its lowest ebb for years. If I should sell now, I would lose enormously, and since my first duty is to the owners of my company rather than to its employees, I do not sell unless I must in order to meet absolutely necessary expenses and keep out of bankruptcy.

The only other way I can get money—aside from present earnings—with which to pay wages, is to borrow it. But the rate of interest is high, and the chances are that I have already borrowed to the limit in order to meet the demands of my creditors, whose claims of course come before those of the workers. And so the banks will not let me have any more money. Therefore there are only two choices before me, aside from failure. One is to shut down entirely and pay my workmen nothing. The other is to reduce wages.

There is no flaw in my logic. It is the logic of present facts. Why, then, should it embarrass me to explain it to my employees? Because in doing so I have demonstrated that industry cannot be operated without injustice to the wage-earner. Those who are not responsible for the management of industry suffer most from its mismanagement. I have proved that the rights of all the various classes of owners come before the subsistence of the worker. The earnings of industry are salted away in such a manner that the workman cannot get at them. My profit has shrunk, to be sure, and it shrank before I cut wages. But the extra stock which I issued has to be protected. The owners of the surplus have to be protected. The holders of bonds and loans have to be protected. There is no protection left for the worker. Only he has no legal claim on me—except for yesterday's wages. He has not capitalized his earning power. Others have capitalized it, and others own it. I cannot fire my stockholders and bond-owners and banks, but I can fire my workmen. I cannot lower the interest on my loans, but I can lower wages. Wages represent the most liquid element in the situation.

When I lower wages, then, I make one of two damaging admissions. The first is that I am a reckless autocrat. The second is that the system of production and distribution is arranged in such a way as to bilk the man who works but does not own, in spite of anyone's good intentions. Can I blame him for protesting with all his might? He protests often without knowing why he suffers—he judges simply, according to the obvious results. In this case he is likely to lose, because at the moment I happen to be stronger than he is. When he does know what is the matter, will he not protest in such a way as to eliminate the favored classes in business? If I wish to avoid that probability, it is up to me to devise some way of making the earnings of labor a first charge on industry.

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Labor Is Watching Its Leaders

By ANNE MARTIN

"LABOR, look out for your leaders. These leaders you raise up are often your chief betrayers . . . and steer the workers into the shambles of capitalist political parties on election day," was the preelection warning of Debs from Atlanta prison.

Many workers in Nevada realize its truth. They are in revolt against the policy carried out in the election last fall by leaders of the Plumb Plan League and by *Labor*, its mouthpiece. The League is composed of sixteen railway labor organizations, twelve of which are craft unions and are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The other four are the great railway brotherhoods. All have local unions in Nevada.

The chief of the politicians in control at the Machinists' Building, the Washington headquarters of the Plumb Plan League, is Mr. Edward Keating, Democrat, ex-Congressman from Colorado, manager of the League and of *Labor*, and closely affiliated with Mr. Gompers, who is opposed to the Plumb plan. Mr. Keating is also chairman of the legislative committee of the sixteen organizations of railway workers composing the League. These workers support the headquarters and the paper with their hard-earned dollars, and pay Mr. Keating's salary, in the hope of getting a Congress elected that will repeal the Esch-Cummins railroad law, "the crime of 1920," and put through the Plumb plan.

Nevada, the "battle-born" Republican State, admitted into the Union in 1864 to give President Lincoln increased strength in the Senate, has for many years been under the control of the Democratic Party. Although one of the largest in area, it has the smallest population and vote of any State, owing to merciless exploitation of its natural resources and public utilities. The average vote in recent years has been about 25,000. As several thousand of these are votes of organized railway labor, the Democratic politicians and "dukes of railway labor" in Washington controlling the Plumb Plan League and its paper had high hopes of reelecting a Democrat to the United States Senate from Nevada, in spite of the impending national Republican victory. Nevada was the one Western State which they counted on winning.

In the late election there were three candidates for the United States Senate: Ex-Governor T. L. Oddie, the Republican nominee; Senator C. B. Henderson, the Democratic incumbent, and myself, nominated as an Independent by petition of several thousand voters of the State. Throughout the campaign my two opponents offered the people no pledges but their party platforms, and a tariff on beef and wool to win the support of the live-stock interests. Neither, of course, stood for the Plumb plan or the repeal of the Esch-Cummins law. Senator Henderson as a railroad and corporation lawyer, backed by the exploiters of raw materials and public utilities of the State, the railroads, banks, mine operators, and land and live-stock companies, was both hand and tongue tied on these issues. His record on the Esch-Cummins law was not to his credit. It is true that he played up to his Nevada labor constituency by voting against the anti-strike provisions of the Cummins bill, but throughout the long "struggle" in the Senate for the legislation demanded by the railroads he did not open his lips to point out its iniquities against labor and the people. I made the chief issue of my campaign against him his failure to fight against or even vote against the Esch-Cummins act, and charged him with dodging his vote on the most vital issue of his term of office. His defense was that I misrepresented him and that he had opposed the bill. But all that the *Congressional Record* reveals in the way of opposition is his stereotyped statement at the final vote: "I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Illinois. I am informed if he were present he would vote 'yea.' I therefore withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I would vote 'nay.'" Organized labor in Nevada learned in this campaign that the pair is used chiefly as a subterfuge to deceive the voters, and that no sincere and determined fighter against a bad bill allows himself to be tied up and prevented by a general pair from voting against it. This lesson I drove home in my speeches and in paid advertisements in the newspapers at twenty cents a line, my only means of communicating with the people, since the columns of the press were closed to me.

As the Independent candidate I went before the people on a platform advocating the general principles of the Plumb plan, the repeal of the Esch-Cummins law, the right of labor to strike, and the restoration of civil liberty. During a five months' campaign I made one hundred and fifty speeches for these issues, traveling nine thousand miles by automobile into remote mining camps and rural districts. I reached practically every precinct in the State. As the campaign developed, my platform was indorsed by the twelve railway craft unions and by miners' and other labor unions of Nevada, which pledged themselves to do everything in their power for my election. Indorsement of my two opponents was denied on the ground that their labor records were unsatisfactory. My Democratic opponent had been supported by Nevada railway labor in 1918, during the war, but it refused to indorse him in this election because of his failure to fight and vote against the Esch-Cummins law. Officials of the American Federation of Labor and leaders of railway labor in Washington, directed by Mr. Keating, made persistent efforts and finally peremptory demands for the unqualified indorsement of Senator Henderson, on the ground that his labor record was "100 per cent favorable." But the railway unions remained steadfast in their indorsement of me and the principles for which I was fighting. Labor was beginning to "watch its leaders."

Interviews with Mr. Keating, Mr. Jewell, Mr. Stone, Mr. Lee, Mr. Wills, and other "grand chiefs" last spring in Washington, after I had announced my candidacy for the Senate, prepared me for opposition from national labor officials, but I never dreamed to what lengths they would go. Mr. Keating told me that my fight against the Esch-Cummins law and for the Plumb plan, which I had already begun in newspaper and magazine articles, did not interest him; that Senator Henderson's record of "not voting" on the railway law because of a general pair was entirely satisfactory to labor officials; that his failure to fight against it was also satisfactory; that he had done all that was expected by not voting *for* it! I asked Mr. Keating to keep "hands off" in Nevada if he would not support me in the

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fight I was making for the principles of his organization, but he would give no assurances. Within a few days I learned that an editorial commending my platform, written by Mr. Frederic C. Howe, then a writer on *Labor*, was suppressed. I learned that Mr. Keating used his power as manager of the paper, which had a large circulation in Nevada, to kill all news of my candidacy, although avowedly capitalist newspapers in the country were featuring it. I knew that he ignored many letters of protest from Nevada labor leaders against his policy of silence. But disillusioned as I am about the leaders of the Plumb Plan League, I was not expecting the misrepresentations that were poured into the paper as soon as my candidacy developed strength.

Here is a sample of a series of articles published during the critical weeks before election, designed to turn the labor vote from me to my Democratic opponent:

HENDERSON NEVER "DODGED" A VOTE IN U. S. SENATE

RECORD ON CUMMINS-ESCH BILL RIGHT AT EVERY POINT

Senator Charles B. Henderson of Nevada was one of the few senators who voted right on every roll call during the long fight over the Cummins-Esch railroad bill. Now he is a candidate for reelection, and the representatives of special privilege are turning heaven and earth to defeat him.

They are persistently circulating the report that he "dodged" the final vote on the Cummins-Esch bill. The story is without a shadow of foundation, but it is being circulated all over Nevada.

The fact is that Henderson was in Washington during the entire struggle. When the final vote was taken on the Cummins-Esch bill he was paired with Senator McCormick of Illinois, who was known to be in favor of the bill. In order that his position might not be misunderstood, however, Henderson took the floor and publicly announced that he was opposed to the bill, but that because of his pair with Senator McCormick it was impossible for him to vote. On the same roll call Senator La Follette of Wisconsin was also paired against the bill, but no one has ever thought of suggesting that La Follette was "dodging." Henderson's opponents figure that Miss Anne Martin, who is an independent candidate for Senator, will get a sufficient number of votes from the workers to permit the reactionary candidate on the Republican ticket to slip through. They know that Miss Martin has not a ghost of a show of being elected, but they figure that every vote cast for her will be at least half a vote for their candidate.

Senator Henderson stood by the workers when they needed a friend, and they will be guilty of gross ingratitude if they do not stand by him now. The trick of running independent candidates in order to divide the labor vote is an old one, and it has proven successful on too many occasions. It is to be hoped that the Nevada voters will not be deceived by it.—*Labor*, October 23, 1920.

This article is, of course, most misleading in its reference to Senator La Follette. It fails to state that the Wisconsin Senator made a series of powerful speeches against the railroad law and did his utmost to defeat it. He was paired on the final vote owing to absence caused by serious illness. The Nevada Senator was present throughout the "fight," but did not lift a finger against the law which mortgages the people to the railroads, and on the final vote allowed an absent Senator to kill his vote by a general pair from which he did not seek release. But *Labor* insistently advertised his record as 100 per cent favorable, while continuing to align me with "reactionary tricksters." Its articles were copied throughout Nevada by newspapers supporting Mr. Henderson.

There was but one possible result of this deliberate campaign of national labor leaders against their own cause. On election day the labor vote was split between Senator Henderson and myself. Mr. Oddie, the Republican candidate, was elected. The vote in round numbers was 11,000 for Mr. Oddie, 10,000 for Mr. Henderson, and 5,000 for me. The figures, however, do not indicate the State-wide sentiment which existed for my election. Nevada has the largest proportionate shifting labor population of any State. It has twice as many men as women, but half these men are disqualified as voters. Thousands of miners, railway, and ranch workers who supported me were forced by labor conditions to move from place to place and were thus disfranchised under our election laws. We were also seriously handicapped by lack of money for necessary educational work to counteract the misrepresentations so widely circulated through *Labor*. With an addition of $2,000 to our campaign fund we could have secured a much larger vote.

Labor expressed itself about the Nevada election in the following editorial (November 13, 1920):

Because the workers of Nevada divided their forces on election day Senator Charles B. Henderson will be succeeded by a reactionary. Thus a promising young progressive is retired to private life and labor is once more charged with forgetting its friends.

The trick by which Henderson was defeated is as old as the history of American politics, and the amazing thing is that the workers of Nevada "fell for it."

Henderson fought the railroad bill from the beginning to the end of the long struggle. . . . His record was as nearly 100 per cent right as any friend of labor could desire. Every responsible leader of labor in the country eagerly certified to the truth of that statement.

"Big Business" was anxious to defeat him but realized that it could not induce the workers to support its candidate. So it seized upon the independent candidacy of Miss Anne Martin as affording an opportunity to divide the labor vote.

Every one familiar with the situation knew Miss Martin had no chance to win. She went before the voters on a so-called "radical" platform, but devoted the greater part of her time to attacking Henderson. She went so far as to publicly declare that he had "dodged" on the railroad bill.

As *Labor* pointed out at the time, there was no foundation for the charge, but some voters believed it and believing it voted against the man who had courageously defended their interests.

Miss Martin came out of the contest a poor third but she secured enough votes to accomplish what the reactionaries had hoped for—the defeat of Henderson.

It is to be hoped that workers everywhere will profit from the experience of Nevada and in future contests refuse to permit their gallantry to override their common sense.

The paper continued its Nevada campaign long after election. In its issue of November 27, 1920, it warns us that "the result of the election has opened the eyes of the workers," and "the next time the reactionaries put an 'independent' candidate in the field for the purpose of dividing the labor vote they will be treated to a genuine surprise party."

Besides misleading many members of the rank and file of labor from the only labor candidate to the Democrat, every one of these articles is an attack on my integrity as an independent candidate. But there are more important battles to win than a libel suit against a "labor" paper for whose alleged principles I am fighting. It is common knowledge that the Republican press of Nevada attacked me as

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violently as the Democratic press. Both parties feared my candidacy. With an honest "labor first" policy at Washington we had an excellent chance of beating them both. As it is, the result of the election was the exchange of one reactionary for another, and "opening the eyes of the workers"—but to the fact that they cannot trust their leaders. They see that the people in sweeping the Democrats out of office and putting the Republicans in, were like the mice who elected a white cat to rule them, and who were soon so exploited that they demanded a change. A majority was persuaded by their leaders that all that was wrong was the color of the cat, so they put the white cat out and elected a black one in his place. Nevada labor leaders saw the truth of this parable in the election, and five thousand of the people saw it. More will see it in 1922. The growing independent vote is bound to be a factor in all future elections. One of my staunchest supporters, a high official of Nevada railway labor, told me the other day:

"I registered this year as a Democrat, but from now on I'll have nothing to do with either party. They both exploit us. When I boosted for the Plumb Plan League and got subscriptions for *Labor* in the shops and on the road, I thought I was helping to start an independent labor movement. But our leaders only wanted to use us as an annex of the Democratic party. We're through! Do you know where the boys at headquarters put the stacks of papers they send us from Washington every week? In the stove. The game our national leaders played in the election, putting the Democratic Party first and labor second, has finished them and their paper—our paper—with us. They tried to make us reelect a railroad lawyer, simply because he's a Democrat. They forgot we fellows out here knew all about him. Debs is right. We can't trust our leaders. They try to steer us into the parties, which are dead against labor; but their scheming is of no avail. One big union for us!"

The Seizure of the Land in Sicily

By GIUSEPPE PREZZOLINI

THE seizure of the land by the peasants in Italy is far more important than the seizure of the factories by the workers, because Italy is eminently and by tradition an agricultural country in which industry is relatively recent. For this reason everything which concerns agriculture touches the most sensitive cords of Italian social and economic life. But for the same reason the agricultural problems are most difficult to understand.

In the first place there is no uniformity; the country is long and variegated. Northern Italy has a climate and soil similar to that of Central Europe, but Sicily and southern Italy are more like Northern Africa than any part of Italy. In northern Italy there are fertile plains, furrowed by canals and perennial streams of water, green meadows, rich and fertile soil, snow which covers the plains in winter and lasts for six months, and abundant rain. In southern Italy there is an absence of woods and snow on the bare mountains, dryness which lasts for months, swift-rushing streams which expand when it rains, but are dry for months, hills, stones, and rocks everywhere, clay and compact dirt and few very fertile regions. In northern Italy the peasants live in the country; in southern Italy they live grouped together in regions, hours and hours away from their places of work. In northern Italy the air is good, there are many roads, and the railroads are developed; in southern Italy, a great many of the inhabitants succumb to malaria. There are very few roads, and the settlements up in the mountains are far away from the railroad. In northern Italy people can travel with safety; in southern Italy men and herds are always in danger if they are not armed.

Hence the economic conditions are very different indeed. In northern Italy the management is of an industrial type, either farmers in associations or tenant farmers who till the soil themselves, and many small industrious landowners. In southern Italy large estates in the hands of absentee owners who enjoy unearned incomes in the city, tenants who sublet from others, peasants who work by the day, now in one place and now in another, who do not own anything, not even a house. In northern Italy, intelligent proprietors, technically equipped with machinery and manure, organized in powerful associations, and on the other hand closely united in unions, either socialist or Catholic. In southern Italy, backward proprietors, ignorant of modern agriculture, with no fluid capital, disorganized masses which are drawn together only by the stimulus of electoral excitement or misery.

Naturally these distinctions which I am making are not entirely true to life. There are regions around Naples and on the coast of Sicily which are extremely fertile, and are divided up among small landowners, and in Venetia there are regions where malaria and large landed estates prevail. In general, however, the distinctions are true and characteristic of the agricultural revolution which is going on.

Let us examine the South first of all and particularly Sicily where the struggle is greater and carried on in the open. In Sicily large landed property prevails. One-sixth of the island is owned by 173 people in a population of four million inhabitants; one-third is owned by 787 people. The agricultural class (725,000 people over ten years of age) possesses almost nothing. The landowners in general live away from their lands in the Sicilian towns, in Rome, abroad. They rent their lands to people peculiar to Sicily called *Gabelloti* who advance them the money for the year's crops, frequently rerenting to others who in turn sublet. Thus the peasant has to pay three or four middlemen. The *Gabelloto* is the financier of the agrarian management of the proprietor; he is usually a peasant who has grown rich, a usurer without scruples, who tries to get what profit he can from the land without improving it, not being sure of having it again and running the risk also of losing the harvest by the frequent droughts. He employs a personnel of tyrants (rural guards, superintendents, etc.) to keep the peasant under strict guard for fear that he should eat the seed instead of sowing it or rob the harvest or go to work on other lands. The *Gabelloto* pays the master and the peasant in advance, but he cannot rob the master and he can rob the peasant; and out of the advance payments which he gives the peasant he takes from 30 to 50 per cent of the interest. It is not to be wondered that the

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Gabelloto is the most despised and hated person in Sicily.

The seizure of the land on the part of the peasants is principally a revolt against the *Gabelloto,* and the occupation began with those properties administered by them (*feudi dati a gabella*). Naturally a few at a time they went from uncultivated lands to the semi-cultivated and even to those well cultivated; from properties administered by the *Gabelloto* to lands cultivated directly by the owners themselves. The Duke of Bivona, a Spanish grandee, owns a large estate in Ribera, given over to taxes. He came to Italy last year to sell it to his *Gabelloto.* At Rome he found envoys of the Catholic cooperatives and of the unions of ex-soldiers who offered him three million lire for a part of it. He did not accept, but went to his estate to secure better terms. During the night the Catholics and soldiers made an agreement, attacked the fortress with stones, besieged and invaded it, and forced the duke to agree to give up the land they wanted. This, I can say, has been the only act of violence of the whole agitation which has already brought about the occupation of no less than a third of the island. It must be recognized that the Sicilian peasant has a pretty good disposition. The occupation already sanctioned by the Italian Government, according to a statement by Minister Micheli, amounts to a hundred thousand hectares, forty thousand of which are around Rome.

The seizures have indeed taken place in a peaceful manner. Crusades of peasants from the crowded cities would leave for tenures six or eight miles away, walking in fours, preceded by their leaders and flags, sometimes red, sometimes black, sometimes tri-colored, and sometimes all three kinds. On foot and riding on mules the population would take possession of the land, planting their banner and stationing their guards there. They would go back to the land, accompanied perhaps by gendarmes who prevented disorder but had not been able to stop the invasion, and from there they would telegraph the King or the Prefect, announcing their taking of possession, and asking for the authorization even to defend the land against the owners by means of the gendarmes. There is often an agreement between two neighborhoods, between two associations. Only once did a conflict break out between two neighborhoods which had built trenches on disputed territory.

There has never been violence against the proprietors. The Sicilian peasant, accustomed to centuries of feudalism, still has respect for the master. The proprietors on their part have been rather revengeful against the leaders of the peasants. The owners who did not find that they had the support of the Government, which had been persuaded to leave a beneficial social movement alone, allied themselves with the *mafia* and intrusted their own defense to it. Giovanni Orcel, head of the socialist peasants of Palermo, fell a victim to some unknown person, but all maintain that he was a victim of the proprietors.

The awakening of today is due to the war. In the first place all the peasants who stayed at home became rich. Those who fought became accustomed to a rather better standard of living. Wine and coffee entered into their menus. Then the war accustomed them to organization and discipline. It was easy for the officials who went home to find their soldiers and organize them in associations and soldiers' cooperatives. The years of discussion created a ferment in all minds. The phrase of a Sicilian deputy, the Hon. Drago, to a Socialist-Reformist Congress in 1919, "The Land for the Peasants," spread everywhere. The promise made by the Government during the war, the rewards announced to the faithful defenders of the country, had their effect indeed. In fact one of the characteristic figures of the agitation is a certain De Rysky, formerly a major in the army; and the Catholic who led the first invasions in the province of Palermo is a Dr. Terranova, also a soldier.

The participation of the Catholics is very important. They were the first to incite the peasants against the lands, and the other parties had to follow them in order not to be conquered themselves. Not only the laity, but even priests and monks led the invasions. In Alcano, Padre Ferrantelli, a Dominican, led the struggle against the *Gabelloto* and the proprietors. In Calabria a nervous young priest, a certain De Cardona, always threatened to burn houses and woods; to which one of his hecklers said: "I'm sorry, I am not of his opinion because I am a Christian!"

The Government has made several decrees authorizing the occupation of the lands not under cultivation, provided they should be passed on by a commission made up of proprietors, peasants, and representatives of the Government, and finally Minister Micheli has recognized the right of breaking the contracts of the *Gabelloto* when they have been sublet. Thus a greater victory was gained.

Except in a small triangle of about 10,000 hectares in the province of Trapani, the harvests have been reaped regularly and the work goes on. In that triangle alone the Socialists who are anxious to obtain the lands to work them collectively dominate, which is repugnant to the mentality of the Sicilian peasant and the proposals of the Government. There is no political revolution in the rest of Sicily and southern Italy. It is a question of the rising of the peasants who are gaining consciousness against age-long extortionists. The press and the conservative parties themselves have greeted the movement sympathetically. It is the end, it is hoped, of the *Gabelloto* and his abuses, and the rising of a class of small landowners whose neutrality can only be conservative.

The agricultural problem in the South cannot be considered solved, however, even if a great step forward has taken place. The large landed property, indeed, is not only a large estate, it is an economic organism which is caused by lack of water, by malaria which prevents men from living where they work, by lack of roads and safety which necessitates keeping flocks and herds in the country, and by the lack of capital which forces the farmer to run into debt. The Government must help the spontaneous movement to divide up the large estates not only by giving legal form to the profitable invasions, but also by remedying the disordered conditions prevalent in Sicily today which has frequently forced the inhabitants to form secret organizations (*mafiaocesca*) to obtain that defense of person and property which the Government does not guarantee. Too frequently it has been the custom of all Italian governments to consider Sicily as a province where bad officials are sent as a punishment, where the carrying of arms has been allowed for electoral reasons, where whoever is an adversary of the administration is sure of never having justice at the hands of the deputy who votes for the government. A policy of energetic impartiality and useful public works can alone prevent the conquests of the peasants which have just taken place from becoming useless in the next few years.

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A Voice From the Past

By GEORGE P. WEST

THE president of the Chamber of Commerce, who was also a director of the Better America Federation, chairman of the Law and Order League, and vice-president of the Society for the Promulgation of Patriotism and Right Thinking, laid down his pen, leaned back in his mahogany office chair, and lit a cigar. The muscles of his face relaxed. He had just placed his O.K. on six publicity statements and a form telegram which was to be sent that night to every member of Congress. It demanded a new law for the establishment of a psychological bureau in the Department of Justice, by which subversive thinkers too crafty to disclose their seditious cerebrations by either writing or speaking might be detected and adequately punished. As he sat there, in momentary repose, he allowed to glow in his brain the pleasant consciousness that he had done his full duty as a citizen that day. But almost at once he recollected that republics are not grateful, and he frowned slightly. Was it all worth while?

Suddenly he looked up, startled, and saw standing across the flat-topped mahogany desk from him a tall, commanding figure in a tri-cornered hat and a uniform of blue trimmed and lined in buff. The hair was powdered, and he started as he recognized the features. There could be no mistaking them.

If this appearance had been merely the then President of the nation, John Smith would have remained entirely at his ease. He knew how to treat these political fellows with just the right blending of ironic respect for the office and the slightest possible contempt and condescension for the man. As it was, his *savoir faire* failed him only for a moment. It was not for nothing that once a month, at finance committee meetings, he was accustomed to meet and propitiate the doddering old figure whose billions towered over the destinies even of Smith himself. And it was with the bow reserved for that sacred figure that he now acknowledged the presence before him.

The blue-and-buff figure jerked his head slightly in impatience of ceremony. Standing there with his arms folded under his cloak, he said:

"You are John Smith, I believe?"

Smith bowed.

"You are president of the Chamber of Commerce, and director of the Better America Federation, and chairman of the Law and Order League, and vice-president of the Society for the Promulgation of Patriotism and Right Thinking?"

Smith's breast swelled and his chin rose a little in spite of himself.

"I am," he replied with admirable simplicity.

The voice resumed. "And I am to understand—the excellent Hamilton told me only this morning—that the policies urged by yourself and your colleagues have been completely successful? I am to understand that you have succeeded in getting a quite unanimous approval and acceptance of your principles, of the standards of thought and conduct set forth in the constitutions of these societies of yours?"

Controlling his voice and trying not to speak boastfully, Smith replied: "We have been eminently successful, Your Honor." (Here Smith referred to a notebook, which he drew from his pocket.) "The ideals of 100 per cent Americanism as laid down by us have been universally accepted. Forty-five State legislatures have enacted our entire program of laws regulating speech and the press. In thirty-eight States the penalty for speaking disrespectfully of the least of our principles is twenty years in prison. We have procured the dismissal of 68,000 school teachers and 23,000 ministers on charges of teaching or preaching un-American doctrines. We have censored thousands of sermons and as many college lectures. We have rebuked more than 900 newspaper editors, and disciplined others by advertising boycotts organized by us. Our lecturers have spoken directly to over 40,000,000 persons, and our literature has been placed in the hands of every man, woman, and child in the country. We have assisted the Department of Justice in 18,000 prosecutions, and the prison sentences if they ran consecutively would cover the period from the beginning of the Christian era to the present day."

Smith paused for breath.

"We have a very capable young publicity man," he said. "I am giving you his figures. They are in round numbers, you will understand."

"Just so," spoke the figure standing before him. "In a word, the American people may fairly be considered today a product of your teachings. Its young men and women have grown to manhood and womanhood steeped in the traditions, grounded in the principles, that you and your colleagues have chosen for them? Every contrary influence has been proscribed and suppressed?"

"I can answer, without boasting, yes," said Smith.

He began to realize now the size and importance of his own task. The figure before him took shape now as the quite out-of-date leader of a mere three million colonists. As he answered, he tapped the mahogany desk a little impatiently with his lead pencil.

The blue-and-buff figure resumed speaking. The voice that issued from it now was pitched in a solemn and judicial key.

"My duty then is plain. I have come to you after completing a tour of the country. Please understand this: I demonstrated during my last term in the Presidency that I have no illusions regarding the populace and their need of a strong hand. It is entirely of your results, not your methods, that I am to speak.

"Those results I have closely regarded. I have mingled with the people. I have traveled on the trains. I have attended the moving-picture theaters. I have visited the industrial suburbs of Pittsburgh and the stock-yards district of Chicago. I spent an entire evening listening to your jazz orchestras and watching your young people dance. I have watched the children leaving your high schools and have stood at the doors of the—do you call them beauty parlors?—and there watched them enter and go through the process of rouging their cheeks and plucking their eye-brows. I have visited the haunts of your most eminent bootleggers. I have even read the stories in your popular magazines and listened to the speeches of Representatives in Congress—men whose candidacies were indorsed by you. I have seen a representative Southern lynching and have watched young men of the American Legion tar and feather an organizer for the Nonpartisan League. I have seen other young men station themselves on lonely street corners or even in crowded thoroughfares and rob, slay, and assault. I have looked down on the Stock Exchange and the Chicago wheat pit. I have attended

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the churches. I have visited your jails. I have sat in your divorce courts. I have seen the bread lines. I have even listened to the conversation in the smoking compartments of your sleepers."

The voice, which had proceeded steadily and slowly, stopped for a moment. When it resumed, the tone had changed. Now it rang like steel.

"Until you yourself told me," it said, "I should scarcely have ventured to place the responsibility for what I have seen this day. In the world of spirits I have met men responsible for much—for ancient slaveries and medieval massacres. But their field of operations was nothing compared with yours. To stand here and confess to me, its Father, that this country as it exists today is the product of standards deliberately imposed by you——"

He broke off. His voice at the end had risen to a shout. Now he dashed his cloak aside and with one sweeping gesture drew a heavy saber from its scabbard at his side. He lifted it high.

"As Father of my Country——" he cried, then stopped, and the uplifted saber fell clattering on the mahogany table as his arms were pinioned from behind.

Unnoticed by the Father of his Country, John Smith had touched a push-button on his desk, and three burly operatives from the Department of Justice had advanced toward the blue-and-buff figure from the corner where they had been hidden in a secret closet.

John Smith laughed scornfully and relit his cigar.

"Take him to the Tombs and telegraph Palmer," he said. "Tell him to file a charge of sedition and criminal anarchy."

The three detectives seized the blue-and-buff figure and hustled it toward the door.

Smith stood watching them in cynical satisfaction. He called after them:

"Hold on a moment! Give him the third degree. He probably has confederates. Mentioned a fellow by the name of Hamilton!"

Smith rang for his publicity man.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter has always looked back with longing on the days of romance and high adventure that are no more. He pictures a royal banqueting hall with a wise jester at the king's knee, and at the foot of the table a score or more of serfs with iron collars around their necks, all bearing a strong resemblance to Gurth the Swineherd. The sound of a trumpet is heard; the king pounds lustily on the table with the bone (or is it jeweled?) handle of his hunting knife, and enter the pages bearing aloft great bowls and platters of noble joints and robust stews and steaming pasties. The king lifts high his tankard; from somewhere above him a hand (there is always a hand there to minister to his wants) fills it to the brim with rich, brown ale (the Drifter's king, be it noted, is no foreign weakling who prefers wine); and just as the king with a magnificent sweep of his arm is about to quench his thirst in a mighty draft, a strong hand reaches out and quickly relieves him of the cup! Is this treason? Does the king become empurpled with rage and sever the offending hand from the obnoxious wrist? Not at all. This is merely the Official Taster of the King's Household running his daily risk of being neatly and quietly poisoned by the king's meat and drink.

Those were stirring times in which [illegible] Shaw, [illegible] Chesterton lived. What have we to offer in their place? No longer does the wassail bowl weigh down the groaning board (the Drifter is not quite sure what a wassail-bowl is—but no matter); no longer does the king tear his meat apart with his knife and his fingers, and toss the scraps to the dogs under the table. Most of the time the king, as pictured in the all-revealing Sunday supplements, looks like an ordinary little man with mild, ineffectual eyes and a pointed beard, and undoubtedly his table manners are above reproach. But stay—when the Drifter reads that the king rides out in state, "in a wonderful gilt coach drawn by eight black horses," it does begin to seem like old times again. And when the papers report that extra guards were employed at the opening of Parliament, and that the ancient practice of searching the vaults beneath the Parliament Buildings was carried out more thoroughly than ever, all because there was fear that there might be attacks by unemployed, or Sinn Feiners (or Egyptians, or Indians, or Mesopotamians), the Drifter sinks back in his chair with a sigh of relief. All is not lost. The king may no longer eat with his knife and fingers, but he seems to be no more popular with certain of his subjects than in the good old days of wassail-bowls and foaming tankards.

* * * * *

SALT loses its savor, and so does the Bible if it be over much read in a churchly atmosphere. The Drifter confesses that the sonorous verses of the King James Version have occupied very few of his spare moments these many months. But there has come to his desk a propaganda pamphlet which has led him to re-read familiar phrases the meaning of which had been obscured by much repetition. The Sermon on the Mount is published as a propaganda pamphlet by the Association to Abolish War, of 14 Roanoke Avenue, Boston. The Association tried to publish it in 1917, but its secretary was officially informed that such a procedure would be regarded by the Department of Justice as pro-German. Now, with a large black and un-Bible-like heading, "Now it can be printed," the Association resumes publication of the forbidden words. The Drifter can understand Mr. Palmer's reluctance—or was it Mr. Gregory's?—to permit wide circulation of these pages in the maudlin days of 1917. But why permit it today? "I say unto you, love your enemies. . . . And every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man who built his house upon the sand; and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell, and great was the fall of it."

* * * * *

PROPAGANDA by headline is a subject that interests the Drifter, and he is glad to share a nice instance of it which fell under his eye on the first page of a New York newspaper recently. Over the announcement that the Standard Oil Company was to cut off its 10 per cent wage bonus, one of the captions read thus: "Plant managers believe Americans will take action in good part, but doubt foreigners." The inference is obvious: one who accepts lower wages graciously is a good American; one who makes a fuss is a dangerous alien. Q. E. D.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

How War Comes About

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Contributions to your issue of February 2 bear evidence of the fact that our relations with Japan have arrived at a point where war between that country and the United States is said to be quite out of the question. We learn that, as Mr. Lamont assures us, "there is every reason why the two nations should be on the closest and friendliest footing." One is reminded by all these unmistakable signs of peace of the articles which used to appear regularly, almost up to the day hostilities were declared, on the unreasonableness of believing that there could ever be war between two great commercial nations like Great Britain and Germany. For one thing, business would not allow it, because war is too expensive. For another, education and enlightenment had gone so far that the relic of savagery called war could not receive the moral support of the civilized peoples of Europe. Even the victors would be losers: this was said to be understood all around and would prevent war. Men not less eminently practical than Theodore Roosevelt and Andrew Carnegie saw in William II of Germany a peace-lover disguised in a uniform and in Germany's great army an instrument for maintaining the peace of Europe.

We know now how hollow were all those judgments. Shall we again put faith in the prognosticators of peace? Many will do so, for man seems to be as eager to run away from facts as a mouse from an army of cats. For others, the ordinary prophets of peace have lost much of their persuasiveness. For instance, Mr. Lamont tells us that the Japanese militarists want war truly enough, but other classes in Japan favor peace, because, unlike the militarists, they no longer "think the world is ruled by force rather than by ideas." The militarists in Mr. Lamont's version of their attitude are certainly mistaken. Ideas do rule the human world. But where do we get our ideas? More particularly, why are certain ideas more dynamic than others under given conditions? The world is full of ideas. Why do certain of them show an unusual activity and tendency to dominate us at times, as against a hundred others that take on a sickly hue and slink off lingeringly to die? Hasn't *interest* something to do with accepted ideas? An interest may become "rationalized"; it becomes an idea, a concept, a system of law, of ethics, of philosophy. The use of force to further an interest (now elevated into an idea) has not been altogether unjustified in the past by law, ethics, and philosophy. While we may concede that force does not rule the world, it will hardly be denied that ideas or interests direct force. Once two highly active elements like an idea and force are well combined, they make an explosive compound that generally spells war.

Let me briefly describe a few conditions today, which, whether reasonable or not, are factual. We now have unemployment in all the industrial countries. Wages are coming down, purchasing-power is reduced, a surplus of unconsumed goods accumulates at home. We need foreign markets, so we hear, in which to unload surplus goods. We also need opportunity for exportation of surplus capital to make satisfactory profits. Home markets in none of the industrial countries can absorb what we have produced. Without an adequate turnover, what becomes of the possibility of paying returns on investments? Thousands of business men must be thinking of the flush times of 1917-18, just as millions of wage-earners probably recall the high wages of those years. Farmers remember the prices they received in war-time. Capitalists have hardly forgotten that money can be made out of war contracts. Suppose all industrial countries have a surplus to export—a surplus, be it remembered, with unsupplied wants at home. Suppose a limited purchasing power in the foreign markets, for it is doubtful if the people abroad have the money with which to absorb the surplus of *all* the industrial countries. Suppose aggressive and ambitious rival capitalistic imperialisms having values to maintain and interests to serve by converting this surplus into money in a limited foreign market. Granted all this and you have the mechanism of society adjusted for driving inevitably on to war.

Unemployment and under-consumption temporarily disappear in war-time. We know from our war-experience that wage-earners, merchants, and farmers, under a proper psychological coaching, are capable of an energetic and self-sacrificing patriotism. A united nation results, discontent is allayed, class conflicts are blunted, and social solidarity waxes strong. We are converted for the time being from an economically stagnant, under-consuming nation into one in which the turnover is large and profitable for everybody.

As a policy war fits more neatly into our interests as at present conceived than a fundamental change in our economic mechanism which would not leave an unconsumed surplus of goods to worry about. Sentimental advocacy in favor of disarmament or peace is lamentably weak as a mover of things compared with a belief that war can bring economic prosperity and perpetuate control of economic forces in its present hands. Until I see the necessity for exportation of goods and capital replaced by the organization of adequate economic development and consumption at home, arguments as to the "reasonableness" of peace and friendship with Japan, for instance, are likely to leave me, for one, quite unconvinced. I shall live in the expectation of another war and adjust my life accordingly.

Portland, Oregon, February 8 H. D.

"The White Woman's Burden"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read William Pickens's article in the October 6 issue of *The Nation* and wondered if white women and white men would allow such an outrage to be repeated in the future. I am glad you have taken the matter up with the National Woman's Party. I am not a member of said party, but if they stand ready to take the responsibility of making the fight for forcing the enfranchisement of the American colored woman, I am ready to join their ranks.

The East has its problem of the foreign-born women, but if they become citizens they have a right to a voice in the government under the Nineteenth Amendment. Why should the "South handle its own problems," or the "Californians solve their own problems," or any other part of the United States, as regards the right of the American woman to vote? The Nineteenth Amendment has been ratified. By what right can those who have charge of the registration offices disfranchise any woman for the reasons set forth by Mr. Pickens?

If, as Susan P. Frost says, in your symposium in the issue of February 16, "the Negro population in communities of the South, either predominates numerically, or is at the rate of half and half," that same Negro population is doing its part in the building up of the South, and because of that work the women as well as the men are entitled to cast their votes for the candidate who has their best interest at heart.

The Africans were brought into the United States by the white man and sold as slaves to the white man. We fought a war with the South to make those slaves free men and women, giving to them the right to citizenship of the United States. We seem still to have another war to fight: that against race and color prejudice.

Ellenville, N. Y., February 17 LIDE GEILHARD GOLDSMITH

Why, Indeed?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: "Pittsburgh's Prostituted Press." But why pick on Pittsburgh?

San Francisco, January 8 NEWSPAPERMAN

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Books

Creative Revolution

Creative Revolution: a Study in Communist Ergatocracy. By Eden and Cedar Paul. Thomas Seltzer.

THE wild welter of kingdoms, empires, republics, democracies, and city states stretching across the centuries from Sargon the Great to Warren Gamaliel Harding has been accompanied by an equally wild welter of political philosophies. Every little system must have its reason for existence founded in the very nature of things. Bolshevism could not escape the ills of the flesh. The philosophers are at work. History, economics, and all other disciplines are once more summoned to abase themselves at the foot of those with the will to power.

The new philosophy of bolshevism, according to the Pauls, runs in this vein: The history of western Europe since the commercial revolution of the sixteenth century has been the history of the bourgeois. The extension of the suffrage to the working and peasant classes was a bourgeois scheme for imposing bourgeois psychology on the proletariat. Fabian socialism, conceived in a spirit of contempt for democracy, was merely an effort of the bourgeois to conquer the proletariat. Guild socialism was another "theory which a group of able young bourgeois intellectuals (the heirs in this generation of the energy which went to the making of Fabianism thirty-five years ago) have been for sometime endeavoring to impose upon the working-class movement." Parliamentary government with universal suffrage is not only a failure but a delusion practiced by the bourgeois at the expense of the proletariat.

But the day of real deliverance is at hand. The true illuminati, the enlightened minority of the proletarian vanguard, with the will to power intend to sweep away delusions and conquer the bourgeois, once for all shatter their ideals, and establish the dictatorship as a preliminary to "Freedom." Soviets will take the place of parliaments. Then the minority, having educated the unconscious masses in communism, will allow freedom to trickle slowly down to the bottom of the new society. Class conflicts will disappear and all will be well (or fairly well) in the kingdom of heaven. The signs of the supreme stroke of creative revolution are all about us. There are the shop councils in Germany, the *délégués de l'atelier* in France, and "the marvelous growth of the I. W. W." in the United States. The path broken by the Bolshevists shows the way and the proletariat follows. Of course a million or more bourgeois may resist the hundred thousand Spartacans bent on exercising the will to power and may by their own folly precipitate a bloody strife. If so, then the blood will be on the heads of the bourgeois; but the pain will be short and forgotten in the bliss that is to follow.

The Pauls admit that this may be poetry. Still, they say, the poets only vaguely foreshadow coming events; they are the true prophets. If some poor "bourgeois intellectual" points to the millions of peasants and farmers in Russia, France, and the United States who till the soil at their feet, and suggests that here is a stumbling block in the way of the communist march, he is swiftly disposed of. The Pauls inform him that "Human freedom with all its limitations is precisely one of those phenomena wherein is displayed the triumph of life over material causation." They go on to say: "We continue irresistibly to believe that our own will is the one 'real cause' in the world!" Thus Bergson and the apostles of free will justify the proletarian dictatorship. Verily learning has strange bedfellows.

Inasmuch as the Pauls admit that they are writing poetry, it is useless to quarrel with them. The poet has a licence not allowed to the poor drudge who wrestles with documents and statistics. Their genial enthusiasm for their new-found truth is genuine and moving. Among a people that has brought forth William E. Gladstone, George Bernard S[illegible] Gilbert [illegible] ton, Sir Edward Carson, Alexander Do[illegible]e, and William [illegible] Sunday, they may go far. Soon we may expect to hear the hammers ringing as the pantheon is reared for the gods of the new cult—and this will be the last of the cults, for there is to be no more imposition on the proletariat by "bourgeois intellectuals."

CHARLES A. BEARD

For Certain Complacent Persons

American Political Ideas 1865-1917. By Charles Edward Merriam. The Macmillan Company.

CHARLES EDWARD MERRIAM has here brought his study of American political theory down to present times. The book is an admirable supplement to the earlier work, and covers a field as yet little dealt with as a whole. It is a systematic examination of liberalism under a democratic guise, seeking to understand and control the steady drift toward industrial centralization; and as such it will find a place in many a class room. A mass of detail, gathered from much reading, is tucked away in the compact chapters. Names and titles crowd upon each other's heels, till occasionally the work becomes little more than an expanded bibliography with convenient sign-posts. Such handbook treatment of lesser phases is not undesirable, as it is supplemented by detailed exposition of major tendencies, and the main purpose of the study is kept sharply to the fore, namely, to reveal the confusions of our village liberalism in the presence of an engulfing industrialism. The author has been perhaps too generous in his recognition of politicians and reputed statesmen who scarcely deserve to be taken seriously. A partial justification, of course, lies in the open fact that such men have been the spokesmen of powerful interests, and as such cannot be ignored; and possibly the student may have taken a sly pleasure in exhibiting them in their intellectual rags. In a book that includes so much it may be unfair to demand more, yet one would like to have had a fuller consideration of the subtle judicial encroachments that have resulted from the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment. To many critics the extensions of the "due process of law" theory seem too significant to pass over lightly. More serious is the obscurity that results from a failure to clarify the sources of the successive programs of reform. It is historically important to segregate the contributions of the larger economic groups, as the farmers, the trade unions, and the chambers of commerce, and to examine the relation of each program to the larger movement of democratic liberalism. To what sources, for example, do we owe the initiative and the referendum, the recall, the Australian ballot, and the demand for proportional representation? These movements are discussed, but it is not made clear from what economic groups they have emerged.

As a commentary upon our political intelligence the book is disheartening. The fault does not lie with the author, whose patience in wading through a mass of timid commonplace is no less than heroic. The fault lies deeper. It is often charged that we are the most ignorant of civilized peoples—surely we are the most complacent in our ignorance. We have so long been content to be intellectual parasites on Europe that when we assert our sovereign competency to do our own thinking—as in the realm of politics—our sterility is revealed. Historically we are the product of an unreasoned *laissez-faire* experience; we have analyzed little, and what passes for political thinking has been largely formal and mechanistic. Only under the impact of European thought, at times of revolutionary strain, have we become sincere. Pragmatic old John Adams, in spite of his shortcomings, was probably the most original of our political theorists, and since he broke off the Davila discourses in disgust at the clamor they caused we have contributed little to the stock of political thought. During the greater portion of last century lawyers and third-rate economists were our chief guides, and to them we owe the sterility of the dark ages

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from 1865 to 1900. An occasional legal philosopher like Justice Holmes, a few sincere students like the logical Burgess with his Prussian theory of the state, Frank J. Goodnow, Woodrow Wilson, and, in the field of economics, Henry George, provide some slight relief from the mass of mediocrity. About the only gleams of light in the present volume flash from the latter part, where the author considers—quite too briefly—the contributions since 1900. Novelists like Robert Herrick, poets like Carl Sandburg, and thinkers like Thorstein Veblen are of different caliber from men like William Graham Sumner and Professor Walker—they at least are not complacent. Intelligent Americans cannot well be proud of the meager record summed up nakedly by Professor Merriam; but we can at least read it and consider our shortcomings. V. L. PARRINGTON

Foreign Exchange

Foreign Exchange. By Albert C. Whitaker. D. Appleton and Company.

THE foreign exchanges have been doing many queer things during and since the war. The fluctuations in values are affecting materially the daily life and well-being of millions of people in all parts of the world. Novel and frequently unsound explanations of the new values are current. The purchasing power of the money circulating in many countries which formerly had a gold standard has been cut loose from gold and the moneys of different countries can no longer be reduced to a common denominator. The par exchange has little significance, where once it was of first importance. That sensitive governor of international prices which has as one arm the course of exchange and as the other arm the flow of gold, and which like the governor of a steam engine normally adjusts the power to the load, has recently been adjusting frequent and violent fluctuations in the load.

That the nature and meaning of the foreign exchanges are but little understood is evidenced by the common expression often voiced that trade is hampered by the low value of the mark, the franc, or other monetary units. The fact is that the low values of these monetary units merely reflect other conditions which themselves hamper trade because they are economically unsound. So far as the foreign exchanges themselves are concerned, it matters little whether the prices of marks, of francs, or of lire be high or low. What does matter is the uncertainty of their value tomorrow, next month, or ninety days hence. Trade can get along fairly well when the range of fluctuations in the prices of foreign money is within calculable bounds, as it used to be when the cost of shipping gold, "the gold points," fixed a limit on either side of par. Today there are no regulating gold points for the simple reason that there is no par.

Professor Whitaker did not write this book to meet the present interest in the disturbed conditions of the foreign exchanges. He has been at work on it for many years, and while he uses present conditions as exemplifying the principles by the sharp contrast between the normal and abnormal, he has not deviated from his main purpose of setting forth a complete and systematic study of all the forms and principles of foreign exchange. Yet, in a way, the book is all the more timely by reason of the fact that it has not been prepared merely to satisfy a temporary interest; by setting the present problems in their proper perspective it gives one a clearer view. Thus, for example, when he says, speaking of exchanges between countries on a fiat paper money basis: "The price of exchange in one fiat country upon another fiat country may naturally enough run over a greater range of variation than that found for any other kind of exchange. The fundamental point is that neither of such countries can by export convert its standard money into that of the other, and the steadying influence of such movements as gold export and import between gold countries is entirely lacking." Here he merely states the universal principle which explains the present situation in full.

The book begins with the concrete forms of money, of commercial paper, and of the documents and other instruments of foreign exchange. This is an excellent method because it starts the student or other reader on the ground and affords him a firm foundation for the discussion of processes and principles. The author then proceeds to show the various features that enter into the foreign exchange market and all the different types of dealings in bills of exchange, taking first the simpler ones and leading up to such complicated processes as those of arbitrage. The book is accurate, wide in scope, and a monument of industry. CARL C. PLEHN

The End of a Regime

And the Kaiser Abdicates. By S. Miles Bouton. Yale University Press.

NEITHER the flamboyant cover nor the rather sensational title of this book is a fitting symbol for the sobriety and circumspection of its contents. It is a very informing bit of writing by a man who has first observed carefully and then reflected maturely on what he has seen and heard. The author had been resident in Berlin as an Associated Press correspondent for several years before the war. He was in Vienna when the Dual Monarchy declared war on Serbia, and in Berlin during mobilization and the declaration of war on Russia and France. He was with the German armies on all fronts as correspondent during the first two years of the war, and was in Berlin two weeks before America severed diplomatic relations with Germany. He spent the summer of 1917 in Russia, and in the following winter watched the progress of affairs from Stockholm and Copenhagen. During the three months preceding the German Revolution he claims to have been in daily touch with many proved sources of information. He was the first enemy correspondent to enter Germany after the armistice; he attended the opening sessions of the National Assembly at Weimar in February, 1919, and remained in Germany until the end of March, witnessing both the first and second attempts of the Spartacans to overthrow the Ebert-Haase government.

Certainly Mr. Bouton's credentials are excellent. He is in a position to give his readers some much-desired information—for example, on the state of mind of the German people immediately before and just after the armistice. He seems also to be without material bias. His account of the internal affairs of Germany from the middle of the war to the end of 1919 shows a sympathetic attitude toward the people of that country which apparently even earned for him the reputation of being pro-German. His point of view is that of a rather advanced liberal who wishes to understand socialism but is not captivated by its creed. He holds with Björnson that patriotism is a stage of transition, and he thinks that the real significance of the German Revolution is that it was conceived, agitated, and carried out by the proletariat; it was the "little man" who played the big role.

The author gives much information of a general nature as a background for his account, but his real narrative may be said to begin with the rioting at Kiel in the summer of 1916, an occurrence about which we have been comparatively ignorant. From that point on he brings out clearly and with considerable climactic effect the gradual undermining of German confidence and the eventual breakdown of German morale. The food shortage, the U-boat losses, the effects of the Allied propaganda, the shock of America's intervention, the changes in the chancellorship, the realization of the serious military reverses in the summer of 1918, the Lichnowsky revelations (so strangely divulged), and, finally, the defection of Bulgaria and Austria are some of the dramatic points in the march of events which quickens toward the inevitable denouement. It is probable that many readers will find this preliminary history even more interesting than the author's account of the Revolution itself,

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with the essential features of which we are already fairly familiar. But the events focusing about the abdication of the Kaiser and the proclamation of the republic are graphically enough told for all their lack of dazzling stage-setting. "The old German governmental system made less noise in its collapse than did the kingdom of Portugal some years earlier. It simply disappeared. *Fuit Germania.*" And the popular character of the "greatest revolution of all times" is shown by the fact that in Berlin hysteric cheering followed the announcement that the German Empire had become history.

Mr. Bouton finds deep significance in the two attempts of the Spartacans to carry the revolution farther. He is sure that internationalism is on the march. And through the failure of the Treaty of Versailles to achieve anything commensurate with the requirements of the age, he sees the issue forced upon all of us, Americans as well as Europeans: shall this internationalism be Red or White?

Some of the author's incidental judgments are of interest. He regards Maximilian Harden, whose frankness of utterance we admired most unqualifiedly during the war, as essentially a *poseur*. Karl Liebknecht, he thinks, had neither great ability nor high moral courage, but only destructive energy and reckless fanaticism combined with inordinate personal vanity.

W. K. STEWART

Another Shakespeare Myth

Sous le Masque de "William Shakespeare": William Stanley, VIe Comte de Derby. By A. Lefranc, professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Armand Colin. 2 vols.

THE war has left its trace of mutilated judgment even on the hitherto unchallenged domain of French scholarship. M. Abel Lefranc's elaborate study of William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby, as author of the plays usually called Shakespeare's, would perhaps have been a different book had it not been for the almost feverish adoration of England which during the years 1914-1918 caused so many outpourings of French praise. Admiration of Britain's tradition, of her great aristocracy, of her court, indeed of almost everything in the island and its history, breathes in every page, beginning with the dedication to "his excellency, Lord Derby, ambassador from Great Britain to France . . ." and its hope "that these pages may serve to witness . . . the fraternity of soul of two great peoples, forever united by their glorious common destinies."

Such a feeling of kinship would not alone, of course, be enough to explain the book's genesis. Behind it is another trait of the dominant school of French governmental and academic minds; a fear and distrust of the unlettered mass of men and a clearly defined conception of what they cannot do. M. Lefranc's whole theory rests on the assumption that Shakespeare's plays could not have been written by an actor whose only life records are of base intrigues, law-suits, and "mean" persecutions, inconceivable in their avarice when associated with the author of such noble figures as Hamlet and Prospero. The same hard and fast interpretation of human nature and its possibilities underlies—M. Lefranc admits the debt—the books of the Baconians and Mr. G. G. Greenwood's skeptical investigations of "the Shakespeare problem"; in essence it goes back to the classicist critics with their rulings about character decorum and their narrow delimitations of what this or that kind of person might or might not be or do.

M. Lefranc's idea of an aristocrat as cultured, generous, and sensitive to the subtle meanings of experience colors his whole hypothesis, even to the degree of blinding him to the obvious fact that his hero was the center of almost as many lawsuits as was the despised "Stratfordian actor" and to the further fact that several contemporary remarks give reason for thinking the sixth Earl of Derby by no means the paragon of ideal aristocratic virtue which, according to M. Lefranc, the creator of Hamlet and Prospero must have been.

Is the book, then, merely another of the negligible myths about Shakespeare, to be consigned to limbo with the works of Miss Delia Bacon, Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, Frank Harris, and other imaginative and more or less ignorant lovers of the plays? By no means, for in spite of its impossibly hypothetical point of departure, its inductive method misapplied, and its main theory, it is full of interesting by-products of research. Its painstakingly constructed history of William Stanley, whose family was so long and so intimately connected with Shakespeare's troup of actors, its careful studies of several of the plays, particularly of "Love's Labour's Lost," make it well worth the reading of even impatient scholars. M. Lefranc's positive contributions to knowledge must not be ignored, especially the questions for future study which he often poses most acutely. To be sure a man of more "humor"—an English trait admired but not shared by this French professor—could never have spent years on building so easily destructible a theory on a foundation of "doubtless," "perhaps," "probably,"—phrases that occur again and again where actual proof of important statements is needed. Yet the French mind demands a rounded aesthetic completeness, a frame into which to fit its detailed discoveries; so M. Lefranc is, after all, true to his classic national traditions in the construction of this new, ingenious, and attractive legend about the poet who still refuses and probably always will refuse to be fitted into academic schemes of what he "must" or "should have" been.

WINIFRED SMITH

Trade and Reconstruction

International Commerce and Reconstruction. By Elisha M. Friedman. E. P. Dutton and Company.

THE growing interest in foreign trade is seen in the increased numbers of books on that subject. In this volume, Mr. Friedman has brought together the facts of recent history and the statistics of recent economic changes. The need of the hour, he assumes, is to consolidate the commercial gains which have accrued to the United States during the years of the World War.

The subject is discussed in some nine chapters, which may be readily divided into three main heads: first, the principles of commerce and American trade policy; second, nationalism and internationalism in commerce; third, the facts concerning trade promotion, policies in trade regulation, and proposed after-war policies on the part of Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, and the minor Powers. Appendixes are added which give the full text of such important trade documents as The Paris Resolutions, Final Report of Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy After the War, The Covenant of the League of Nations, and Economic and Related Clauses of the Treaty with Germany. A very complete bibliography shows the sources of authority and suggests further reading.

The immediate problems in international commerce are said to be the psychology of victory, the fact of depreciated exchange, and the supply of credit. The preliminary tasks are the restoration of credit and the avoidance of further inflation. Remedies proposed are the free movement of gold and early reduction of the volume of paper money outstanding, the extended use of the commercial bill of exchange, cooperation in international investment, and, perhaps, an international system analogous to the Federal Reserve banking system.

Concerning an American foreign policy, the author says that "it will behoove the United States to formulate a definite foreign-trade policy, if for no other reason than that all the other nations are doing so." Such a proposal involves "promotion of trade by the joint development of foreign markets by associations formed under the Webb Law, the establishment and maintenance of a merchant marine, the opening of free ports, the extension of education in foreign trade, the promotion of trade research by government and private agency, cooperation among the various government bureaus and between government

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and business, and between our political and our industrial organization. Finally, the tariff constitutes a most important factor in our trade policy." A distinction should be made between the industries that will become self-sustaining and those that will not.

Concerning our recent foreign commerce, some economic students regard it as a pathological case and not as a normal conquest of markets—an unhealthy and somewhat accelerated development. Says Professor Litman in a recent article: "In the past five years the excess of our exports over imports was $13,963,976,000. This astonishingly large favorable balance of trade was the result of an artificial violent cause. It was largely due to the urgent demands of people who were frantically seeking goods and were willing to pay any price for them." The statement that because these exports were financed by long-term government loans and not by mercantile credits they represent a phenomenon of a purely transitory nature, is probably somewhat exaggerated. Too much emphasis, however, should not be placed on war-time gains.

In the political sphere, Mr. Friedman believes that the development of some kind of a league of nations is bound to favor the further development of commerce and will diminish economic danger and risks, the universial barriers to commerce. Trade is an affirmation of internationalism of which war is the negation.

GEORGE MILTON JANES

The Evolution of Sinn Fein

The Evolution of Sinn Fein. By Robert Mitchel Henry. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.

SINN FEIN is an outlook, an idea, an approach to a political reality; it is only vaguely an organization. Consequently the understanding student, in tracing its history, will speak about "The Evolution of Sinn Fein." It is an index to Professor Henry's comprehension of the movement that he has attached such a title to his volume.

Sinn Fein begins by taking possession of the separatist political organization Cumann na nGaedhal. Mr. Henry is under the impression that the Cumann was a new organization formed in 1900; actually it was the Celtic Literary Society transformed. It creates skeleton organizations for industrial and cultural projects; afterward it enters the drill-halls of the Volunteers; meanwhile Padraic Pearse and James Connolly, both outside of Sinn Fein, draw two groups of Volunteers together and create the Irish Republican organization; Sinn Fein comes into this organization; Dail Eireann, the Irish Republican Parliament, is established and Sinn Fein becomes its spirit. Varying in organization it also varies in the direction of its effort. In the beginning it claimed the restoration of the Constitution of 1782; it was constitutional then, and advocated passive resistance. Now it demands complete national self-determination, that is, the recognition of the established Republic; as incarnated in Dail Eireann, Sinn Fein has its national army and its Minister of Defense.

It is an approach to a political reality, but the reality presents itself in different terms to different groups of its adherents. Unless Mr. Griffith is a much changed man, the reality he envisages is a centralized capitalistic state; the followers of James Connolly, on the other hand, are for a socialized republic; the younger intellectuals are for "Social Gaelicism," which might be translated as a cooperative commonwealth or a de-bolshevized soviet republic. Sinn Fein, then, represents an evolving idea. "Ireland for the Irish" is part of that idea; "attainment through individual effort" is the other part of it.

The present reviewer wrote for the journal *Sinn Fein* and for its predecessor *The United Irishman* from 1903; he has been intimate with Mr. Griffith, and he acted on various committees; he can testify to the extent and the exactness of the information shown by the present historian of the movement. Mr. Henry brings out two significant facts. The first is that Sinn Fein was turned from a passive to an aggressive force through the entente arranged between two Volunteer bodies by Padraic Pearse and James Connolly; the second is that Sinn Fein in its present militant temper is largely the creation of the enemies of Irish Nationalism—Sir Edward Carson, Mr. David Lloyd George, and the British Chief of Staff, Sir Henry Wilson.

Sinn Fein being an idea and that idea being implicit in Irish conditions for a generation or more, it is difficult for the historian to put his finger on the place where Sinn Fein as a definite movement begins. The formation of the National Council out of Cumann na nGaedhal and the '98 Clubs in 1905 and the publication of Mr. Griffith's pamphlet "The Resurrection of Hungary" mark the beginning of an organization and the creation of a body of opinion. But preparations had been made for this articulation. Indeed, if we look upon Sinn Fein as an idea, the realization of which would mean the reconquest of Ireland by the Irish, we must go twenty years further back for its nativity. Mr. P. S. O'Heagerty, whom Thomas Kettle used to call "The Saint Paul of Sinn Fein," thinks that the formation of the Gaelic League marked the turning-point in Irish history.

Nevertheless, when Mr. Griffith transformed the transformed Celtic Literary Society (founded by William Rooney, whose influence upon separatist policy is puzzling to Mr. Henry) he articulated something that was to be of incomparable service to Ireland. Perhaps it was not in the organization and the various skeleton organizations that the virtue lay, perhaps it was in the talismanic word that he found for the movement; most likely it was in his own devotion to the idea, in the support he was able to give it by the best journalistic pen in Ireland, his own, and by that political vision of his that was more real than that of any other man in the country.

He led the Irish people toward the discovery of a racial tactic. For as there is an English tactic of acceptance and compromise, as there is a German tactic through solid organization, as there is a French tactic that may be illustrated by Marshal Foch, so there is an Irish tactic—something that draws out the special power of the race.

That tactic is aggressive defense—a holding on that keeps up the spirit of a charge. The aggressive defense of the *tuath*—the petty state of Celtic Ireland—broke down the power of the Normans without the winning of a decisive battle by the Irish. The aggressive defense of the chieftains prevented the subjugation of the country by the enormous power of England for six generations. The tactic ceased to be employed after the surrender of Limerick. It was divined by Parnell, but its revival was left to Arthur Griffith, and more obviously to the military leaders who have been produced by the Volunteer movement.

It is idle to suggest that the present history of this momentous movement is neutral. It is obvious that as between Sinn Fein and Unionism, as between Sinn Fein and Carsonism, as between Sinn Fein and the effete Parliamentarianism it encountered, Sinn Fein, to Mr. Henry, is the only creative movement in the country. But he is no advocate for Sinn Fein; he writes as a disinterested critic. And the temper, the detachment, and the information of the book make it wholly admirable. The narrative is flowing, and the writer has the power of making illuminating statements, as when he says of Parnell: "To him the British Empire was an abstraction in which Ireland had no spiritual concern; it formed part of the order of the material world in which Ireland found a place; it had, like the climatic conditions of Europe, or the Gulf Stream, a real and preponderating influence on the destinies of Ireland." There is in the book, too, a cool eloquence, as in the closing paragraph:

"The means at the disposal of Sinn Fein at present hardly seem adequate to accomplish its object. It may bring about the moral and intellectual independence of Ireland; it may secure a certain measure of economic independence: but to secure political independence, in face of the forces ranged

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against it, seems impossible. But what it cannot do for itself may in the future be done for it by the moral forces of which it is a manifestation. It may in the future be recognized by the conscience of mankind that no nation ought to exercise political domination over another nation. But that future may still be as remote as it seemed in the days of the Roman Empire."

"The Evolution of Sinn Fein," with Mrs. Alice Stopford Green's "Irish Nationality" in the Home University Library, make together an outline of Irish history such as is often sought for. These two volumes supplement each other chronologically, and together they tell the story with insight and historic sense.

PADRAIC COLUM

The Aesthetic Attitude

The Aesthetic Attitude. By Herbert Sidney Langfeld. Harcourt, Brace and Howe.

IT is a welcome trait of Mr. Langfeld's graceful book that it is addressed to the general reader. Although the author writes as an experimental psychologist whose approach to aesthetic problems has been preeminently a scientific one and who bases his conclusions on the results of laboratory experiments, his treatment of the aesthetic reactions does not at all resemble the method of the proverbial scientist who dissects the delicate butterfly. Science—in this case psychology—keeps its place of humble servant to beauty. Mr. Langfeld is careful, also, to avoid the setting up of norms. He recognizes that aesthetic criterions are in a state of flux—that sounds which are thrilling dissonances to our ears today may become familiar commonplaces in some remote tomorrow. Thus it is not the speculative philosopher who speaks, nor yet too insistently the experimental psychologist, but the aesthetician pure and simple. We feel that the author is not a cloistered academician, but a man of the world. He has the aesthetic attitude. Beauty has revealed herself to him in Florentine galleries, on woody Maine islands, at sparkling dinner tables. The writer's spontaneous first-hand response to aesthetic impressions makes his psychological arguments all the more convincing.

The first part of the book is given to a definition of the aesthetic attitude as it manifests itself in the contemplation of natural beauty and of objects of art. Mr. Langfeld reviews the interpretations of other philosophers, and although he points out the insufficiencies of their theories, it must be said that fundamentally his own agree with theirs after all. Indeed, it is charmingly consistent with the aesthetic attitude that the gentle polemics in the book and the critical reviews of previous theories are resolved in a final harmony of common aim and essential agreement.

The author objects, for instance, to the insistence of Munsterberg and his pupil, Miss Puffer, on the "detachment" of the onlooker and the "isolation" of the beautiful object as the essential elements in the aesthetic attitude. On the other hand, Mr. Langfeld devotes a whole chapter to what he considers the key-note of aestheticism: the activity named, according to Professor Titchener's brilliant translation of the word "Einfühlung," Empathy. The psychical act of Empathy is a "feeling into" a scene or object of art in such a way that the motor responses to the perception—whether or not these are carried out in actual muscular reactions—obey without resistance the dictates of the lines, colors, tones, and the like. Now Munsterberg's theory of aesthetics as set forth in his "Eternal Values" dwells especially on the responsive nature of the attitude which, in order to be aesthetic at all, must obey the will of the beautiful object, whether this will is expressed in the upward pointing of Gothic arches or in the rise and fall of a melody. The emphasis on "repose" in the object of beauty to which Mr. Langfeld objects refers merely to that absence of resistance which his Empathy also demands—even as there may be repose in a gentle downward glide which nevertheless is also a movement.

The functions of Empathy—the aesthetic effects gained by the rousing of motor responses through the movement and force of lines and the distribution of weight—are made lucid by graphic illustrations from the fine arts. In the chapters on Unity and Balance, which include a dissertation on the "golden section," on the exact proportions of lines and spaces in their relative attractiveness, the psychologist never loses sight of the considered picture or statue or scene as a whole; he never, in cool analysis, forgets its "naive" appeal. Indeed, he emphasizes not only the unity of form and the unity of content, but that *sine qua non* of art production—the unity of content and form. Free from the aesthetic snobbishness of some critics, moreover, although he insists on a nice distinction between the aesthetic and the ethical attitude, Mr. Langfeld is willing to recognize the dangers to aesthetic enjoyment from shocks to the moral sensibilities and, on the other hand, to recognize the helpful influence of associations, imagination, and the emotional setting of the onlooker. Finally, beauty adheres not to the object enjoyed, nor, indeed, to him who enjoys it, but "to a specific relation of the two." But this relation is not difficult to win, for "Art demands but one thing, that we remain loyal to its beauty."

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

Books in Brief

"THE Course of Empire" (Boni and Liveright) is a collection of speeches by R. F. Pettigrew delivered during his twelve years' service in the Senate of the United States. It is edited by Scott Nearing, who contributes a brief and interesting introduction on the significance of the period of American history from 1893 to 1901, the epoch covered by the Senator's addresses. As everyone knows, Mr. Pettigrew, though elected as a Republican from South Dakota, soon broke with his party over imperialist and capitalist policies and found himself almost continually in the opposition. He was a man of undoubted native talents, a wide reader, and a devoted American of the old school. More than one-half of this volume deals with the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines; the other half embraces speeches on free land, the railroads, the trusts, bond sales, big business, taxation, press censorship, the Boer War, and miscellaneous matters. The point of view throughout is that of a radical Populist, but it must not be thought that the speeches are mere "rant." They are very well documented and sprinkled with authorities. They represent the honest and thoughtful views of a man who traveled far and wide and studied earnestly and was driven by his conscience into opposition to imperialism with all its hateful accompaniments. Every teacher who has occasion to present American history and desires to present it as it is should read this volume through. Every editor, especially those accustomed to use heavy shotted guns against radicals and pacifists, should have to take a Chautauqua course in it. Nevertheless, a certain melancholy interest is associated with these cerements from the *Congressional Record.* They recall the vain and hopeless resistance of the good and honest to the iron march of relentless destiny, the reaction of an eighteenth-century perfectionist against Mausers and "Water-Cures" and all the other unfortunate signs of imperial power. The underlying assumption always is that those who sit in darkness are really very nice and orderly people, if only let alone by the wicked white man—an assumption quite as much without warrant as the missionary view of imperialism. We cannot have a world order without a world more or less standardized into common ideas of right and wrong, and that is a work of action, creation. Negative virtues, though pleasing to contemplate by the fireside, are not likely to prepare a Hottentot, a Matabele, or a Tagalog to wear a high hat with comfort at the world's grand consolidated league of the people's own when it assembles at Geneva in the year 2000. Still, those serve who stand by the side and urge us to be good.

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LORD MACAULAY once wrote of Queen Anne that "when in good humor she was meekly stupid and when in ill humor she was sulkily stupid." Later historians have not always accepted Macaulay's conclusions, but on the matter of "good Queen Anne's" general incompetence there has not been much disagreement. The tendency has been to minimize the importance of the Queen as a political factor and to find the directing forces in the personal or factional combinations of the time, of which there were many. But now comes Mr. William T. Morgan with a detailed and carefully prepared study of "English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne" (Yale University Press) in which he informs us that our earlier views as to political movements in the last Stuart reign have been incorrect and need revision on many points. Though Mr. Morgan does not claim that Queen Anne was highly gifted or even moderately intellectual, he argues (quite successfully, it seems) that she was the directing force in the government. She was a Stuart and held to Stuart principles with all the stubborn tenacity characteristic of the Stuart race. Holding strongly to the older ideas of royal prerogative, she resisted every effort on the part of ministers or parliament to encroach on her sovereign rights. Though she allowed her ministers to compose her speeches, she edited them with great care and permitted no statement of policy to stand unless it met her approval. On the other hand the author shows quite conclusively that the Duchess Sarah, who is usually credited with great power at the royal court during the first half of the reign, had, after all, very little political influence. Next to the Queen the most prominent character in Professor Morgan's narrative is the much-despised Robert Harley. The older view that Harley was a shifty intriguer who only at rare intervals could come to an important decision is shown to be wholly baseless. Harley was a shrewd, resourceful, active man, the leading politician of the time. He enjoyed the Queen's confidence throughout the reign, not only while a member of the ministry but even after his associates had induced the Queen to dismiss him. The author emphasizes the activities of Defoe, especially his services as secret political agent. An important part of the study deals with certain customs and conditions out of which the English system of cabinet government developed in the following reign. Queen Anne had neither a prime minister nor a cabinet in the modern sense of those terms. But she found it expedient, chiefly because of her ill health, to leave the conduct of the administration in large measure to a chief minister, first to Godolphin, later to Harley. During Anne's reign it also became customary for a small group of the more important ministers to meet somewhat regularly to prepare business for the larger cabinet council. It was the Queen's purpose to govern without regard to political groups; but circumstances finally forced her to reorganize her government in such a way as to secure the support of one or the other of the organized political parties. In all these three respects, the chief minister, the informal meetings of trusted ministers, and the dependence on party support, the tendency was toward the modern form of parliamentary government.

THE second volume of John Bach McMaster's "The United States in the World War" (Appleton) evinces, like the first, great skill in narrative, particularly in grouping large phenomena and putting them into a sightly perspective. The story covers not only the end of the war, including such topics as the campaign against submarines, war work at home, and fighting in France, but the armistice, the peace conference, and the treaty from the time of its negotiation till that of its rejection by the Senate. Without resorting to the sensational methods of some writers on the Conference of Versailles, Professor McMaster has presented a narrative as readable and apparently as objective as that of a news report. Not only his style but his methods of accumulating data and even his opinions are journalistic. Apparently he relied for his facts almost entirely on newspapers and, even for foreign countries, chiefly on American newspapers. Where they have common prejudices he shares them; where their opinions balance one another he is as impartial as a judge. Thus, while he fails to put himself at the point of view of any other nation and cordially detests the Germans, whose claims he once designates in what is a probably unintentional pun as "all bosh," he is scrupulously fair and even colorless in his account of American politics. He presents the side of President Wilson and the side of the Senate in their own words, fully, adequately, without revealing his own bias. Thus it is that his work, patriotic, matter-of-fact, "100 per cent American" as it is, seems nicely calculated to appeal to the audience for which it is intended. It fills a want and deserves a wide popular circulation. One type of mind feels in the recital of details and of facts a certain "thickness" of reality—to adopt William James's phrase—that more complex minds discover only in the formulation of general laws and relationships. The former will find in Mr. McMaster an excellent and interesting guide; the latter, including most scholars, statesmen, and publicists, will wish that he had added to his array of facts some evaluation of his own, some expression as to the causes, effects, and meaning of the whole thing.

VICTORIA DE BUNSEN'S papers on life in rural England at the end of the last century in "Old and New in the Countryside" (Longmans) are written with personal knowledge of the old social and economic order but sympathy with the vital changes brought about by the war. She does not mourn that "society as we have known it is crumbling in many different parts of Europe." Her shafts of witty sarcasm are reserved for the lady of the Hall in England who supplemented incredible wages by puddings and beef tea, blankets and flannel petticoats, and for the complacent Victorian belief that "the miseries of the poor were expressly permitted by the Almighty in order that the rich might find opportunities of service, and thus of developing the Christian virtues." She finds, however, that "while suffering humanity must be dealt with in the mass in the complicated intricacies of modern society with its vast industrial machine," we may have learned to declaim and attend meetings instead of serving, and lack a certain quality of sympathy and human touch that gave warmth of character to the generation that preceded us. Among the classes favored by birth and fortune in London, Victorian standards in politics, art, and philanthropy prevailed until the eighties. "The dwellers in Belgravia and Kensington stood for wealth, respectability, and that sense of duty to others which Tennyson had immortalized." King's College for women, Toynbee Hall, the new Tate Gallery, Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, and the South African war all did something to make the first timid breaks in the complacent "unity" of English society, now so violently rent apart by the effects of the war. The chapters on Clayberswick—a country town—are as realistic as the novels of the Five Towns, but written by one with broad and keen sympathies who not only records but analyzes and seeks for remedies.

IN "The Publishing Family of Rivington" (London: Rivington) Mr. Septimus Rivington supplies us with a well-documented account of the fortunes of his predecessors in this famous English firm. The annals proper begin when Charles, the first of the publishing Rivingtons, who was born during the invasion of England by William of Orange, took over the business of one Richard Chilswell, called in his day the "Metropolitan of booksellers." One son of Charles was articled to Samuel Richardson in 1746 (the date in the text is wrong) and subsequently succeeded him in his printing business; another son, James, took into partnership James Fletcher, and Rivington and Fletcher became the publishers of Smollett's "History of England," thereby clearing ten thousand pounds—a record for those days. We read in "Cranford" that their successors J. & J. Rivington were to have had "the honourable responsibility" of publishing a sermon by Miss Matty's father. This

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was about 1774. In the early years of the nineteenth century the firm became booksellers to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and soon they had on their lists the books of some of the leading Tractarians—Palmer, Hurrell Froude, Isaac Williams, and Manning, who had not yet gone over to Rome. Later on they published the "Tracts for the Times", which were transferred to them from another house. Thenceforward most of the important Oxford sermons and theological literature, from Pusey to Scott Holland, appeared above the Rivington's imprint. From the house of Rivington came some of the best textbooks for younger students of the classics in the closing years of the last century. The author of this book may well be proud of the family record: "there has never been a year from 1711 to the present day when a Rivington has not been a member of a publishing firm."

UNDER the title "Industry, Emotion, and Unrest" (Harcourt, Brace and Howe) Mr. Edward Thomas endeavors to set forth the factors which most profoundly affect the industrial and social sides of modern economic life. The facts are portrayed by incidents, somewhat as is the law in the "case system" of instruction in law schools. The deportation of laborers in Arizona, the Lawrence strike, illegal arrests, and other concrete cases are cited to show why injustice breeds unrest. Concerning business methods, the bankruptcy of a popular cigar dealer is explained thus: "It appeared that one of the large chain cigar stores corporation had felt this dealer's competition, had bought the lease of his store over his head, and had forced him out. This happened twice, and then he was bankrupt." A business man commenting on the incident said: "What could be expected, fighting a big corporation? They had the money and the right to succeed, and he didn't have the money. That's life." Concerning the institutionalism of the churches the writer observes that "following Christ in Galilee and pagan Rome was a risky adventure while in our large cities today it is the badge of middle class respectability and a comfortable bank account." The closing chapter suggests several methods of bettering conditions, such as the establishment of cooperative stores, the enlistment of young people in constructive social service, the appointment of a chancellor for labor to adjust disputes, and training of foremen and superintendents in economics, psychology, and related subjects. The value of the book lies not so much in the remedies proposed as in the vivid presentation of actual conditions.

AS Agamemnon proverbially owes his reputation to Homer, so the fifth Harry of England, friend of Falstaff and conqueror of Agincourt, is indebted for his popularity chiefly to the magic of a still greater poet. Like most biographers, Mr. R. B. Mowat has fallen in love with his subject, "Henry V" (Houghton Mifflin), and while highly estimating Henry's genius as a statesman and a general, rebuts the Shakespearean legends about the prince's wild youth as very slenderly supported by the sources. Save as it is recorded that Prince Hal "labored in the service of Venus as he had served Mars," and that he now and then waited in disguise for his own receivers and "distrained them of their money," there is no contemporary foundation for the scenes at the Boar's Head, Eastcheap, immortalized by the dramatist. "Une légende parfois ment moins qu'un document," says Victor Hugo, and most of us will not give up our gallant Hal and his fat friend "not on compulsion, nor for any reasons, were raisins as thick as blackberries." Particularly, Mr. Mowat labors to show that the story of the prince's summons before a magistrate and commitment for contempt of court is without foundation and applies, if to anyone, to an earlier monarch. But whatever wild oats he may or may not have sown, he reaped a great harvest of glory by his war with the English and Welsh rebels the Percies and Glendower, and by his great victory of Agincourt. Solid reasons for provoking war with France he had none, but, like Frederick the Great to whom Mr. Mowat compares him, he felt the need of winning martial glory, of writing his name large in history among those conquerors whom mankind has rewarded by deification.

IT has always been difficult for an American to penetrate the maze of French politics. The multiplicity of parties, their shifting relations, the anomalous position of the President and the Senate, have all been hard for Americans to understand. Professor Edward M. Sait's "Government and Politics" (World Book Company) is a scholarly work, seeking to meet this need. As a study of the constitutional relations of the President, cabinet ministers, Senate, and Chamber, it is at once authoritative and good reading. A chapter on Political Developments gives a rapid sketch of the political history of the Third Republic, which lapses into conventionality only in its description of war-time politicians. The exposition of the political parties is clear and in the main correct; the comparison of the French courts with the American is enlightening. Raymond Leslie Buell's "Contemporary French Politics" (Appleton) is a hastier and more turgid book. Mr. Buell spent a few months at a French university after leaving the A. E. F., and collected an amazing number of party platforms, draft laws, magazine articles, and newspaper clippings which he has thrown together in this book. Friendship with a Socialist editor enabled him to present an admirable story of the leftward trend in the Socialist party from 1917 to 1919, but his chapter on syndicalism is misleading. He has a chatty chapter on the French press, a perfectly conventional statement of the French attitude to the treaty, and valuable summaries of the present-day status of the woman suffrage and regionalist movements and of the movement for a form of "professional government" which might be described as capitalistic sovietism.

THE preacher, the advertising copy writer, and the journalist will alike find much to help him in Francis P. Donnelly's "The Art of Interesting" (Kenedy). Although Father Donnelly has taught rhetoric in several American Jesuit colleges, his book is not a textbook of rhetoric. It is a series of stimulating essays warring against the dulness which empties churches and fills waste baskets with unread letters, newspapers, and magazines. Dulness is conventional, abstract, impersonal. It may be clear, but it does not attract and fascinate a reader by the form of its expression. It is a brown paper parcel in an age that wages advertising campaigns over an improvement in the package. The enemy of dulness is interest. The writer or speaker can interest his audience by his directness of expression, by his emotional force, by his ability to arouse antagonism, by his novelty, and especially by stimulating the imagination. Such a writer makes his reader see and hear the things which are told him. And one who wishes to gain this power of interesting people is here supplied with exercises calculated to develop imagination by the classical pedagogy of imitation. For Father Donnelly is a sound classical scholar. He has done us the service of showing conclusively that the underlying principles of classical rhetoric are fundamentally valid today—that Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian knew not only how to make speeches, but how to preach sermons, write editorial articles, and sell groceries. It is unfortunate that the inclusion of essays printed elsewhere mars the unity of this most interesting book, for Father Donnelly knows how to interest as well as how to talk about it.

MR. SPECTATOR noted with disapproval the existence of certain "Grub Street biographers, who watch for the demise of a great man like so many undertakers, on purpose to make a penny of him." The race has outlived Grub Street, and to this day the obsequies of the great are no more complete without biographers than without bouquets. The Count Fleury, who assumes responsibility for the editing of the "Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie" (Appleton) from various letters and journals, would scorn to be associated with Grub Street, but the work is marked by the copious and loose-jointed

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triviality of journalism in spite of the assurance of the publisher that it has long been withheld from publication "by special request." Readers who expect either sober history or that atmosphere of well-bred impropriety generally associated with the genre of court memoirs will be disappointed. There is material of the racy sort in the story of this comparatively obscure girl who captured an emperor, and there is tragedy in her later years, but the author skips all this and makes her as proper but not as picturesque as Victoria, by concentrating his attention upon amazingly trivial details of court life. The general tone is one of resolute apology for all things connected with the Empire, but whatever facts of historical interest exist are hidden under a mass of details concerning court functions and royal visits, which appeal to snobbery no more exalted than that of a nurse-maid.

TASTES change with the generations, and what satisfied our fathers and grandfathers may not please at all the more outspoken mind of the children. Our elders wept with Thaddeus of Warsaw and read Manzoni's "Betrothed" with avidity, but to the readers of today both are tiring in the extreme. The same is true of biographies. The inflated rhetoric and eulogistic bombast that soothed the American soul in the middle of the last century tortures the modern mind with its grandiloquence and fondness for panegyric and is slowly giving way to a treatment compact of directness, impartiality, balance, and perspective. Of this process we have an excellent illustration in the lives that have been written of Jonathan Trumbull, governor of Connecticut during the Revolution. Stuart's life, issued in 1859, is eulogistic, partial, and discursive, but it pleased our grandfathers. "The Life of Jonathan Trumbull" (Little, Brown) written by the late Jonathan Trumbull, a great-great-grandson, is of the kind that would have satisfied our fathers—accurate and reliable, but still prejudiced and filio-pietistic. Mr. Trumbull knew all that there was to be known about his ancestor, but he knew less about Connecticut, still less about the other colonies, and almost nothing about Great Britain or her policy. The result is a dull life of a second Aristides the Just. We still wait for a scholarly account of Trumbull, written with more knowledge and less patriotic fervor, that shall satisfy the critical mind of the present generation.

JUDGE HENRY G. CONNOR'S "John Archibald Campbell" (Houghton Mifflin) contains less the story of a man than the analysis of a mind. Campbell, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court from 1853 to 1861, had a distinguished career at the bar of Alabama before he was called into the judicial service of the United States, and after his resignation, having failed in his efforts to stay secession and to avert civil war, he served the Confederacy, resuming the practice of his profession in 1865 and continuing at the bar until his death in 1889. Thus in one sense he had no career, but his claim to the remembrance of posterity lies in his connection with some of the greatest legal cases of our history, involving the interpretation of the Constitution—the Dred Scott case, the Slaughter House cases, the Jackson *vs.* Ludeling case, and many others. Judge Connor has analyzed Campbell's arguments in these cases with great clearness and understanding and his book is fascinating to one who enjoys following the working of a powerful legal mind.

JOHN G. NEIHARDT'S "Song of Hugh Glass," recently issued in a school edition (Macmillan), is a delightful addition to the too scanty list of current books for school use. The author's autobiographical note and historical preface, in which he tells of the lasting impression made upon him by his first view of the Missouri River and suggests something of the epic quality of the historical material of the Northwest country, make a fitting and fascinating introduction to the poem. The book, also, is attractively printed and bound. But there is a feature about it which moves to vigorous protest. It has an appendix of over fifty pages of editorial notes in fine print, a train load of ponderable freight attached to this epic express. Here one finds not merely God's plenty, but sad satiety; not merely a feast, but a plethora. In these are all the printed trappings which contribute much toward making great literature merely "classics" to the schoolboy and schoolgirl—"Dead books which no one reads except when he must."

THREE new titles just added to The Modern Library (Boni and Liveright) agreeably illustrate the range of this admirable series. One is the sensitive translation which Lafcadio Hearn made of Flaubert's "The Temptation of St. Anthony," here accompanied by the Addenda of curious material passed over in the text of the translation. Another is L. MacBean's "Marjorie Fleming's Book" with John Brown's "Marjorie Fleming," surely one of the most engaging volumes in all the literature of childhood, and a timely one at this moment when the child is undergoing a literary exploitation never before equaled. If by comparison with these two Havelock Ellis's "The New Spirit" seems not quite so fresh, it is because the spirit which was indeed new in 1890, when the book was first issued, has now been a good while in the world, and the more alert members of the present generation will find a good deal that seems accepted doctrine in these broad and bland essays on Diderot, Heine, Whitman, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and Huysmans. As an introduction to these particular authors, however, few books are more useful. The Modern Library will soon need to add titles more modern than the slightly passé books of the nineties. The series already boasts a volume of Voltaire. Why not a selection from Lucian?

Drama

"Macbeth" in the Void

THE production of "Macbeth" by Mr. Arthur Hopkins, Mr. Robert Edmond Jones, and Mr. Lionel Barrymore (Apollo Theater) raises an old and fundamental question. Neither an uninstructed dislike nor a sophisticated approbation touch it at all. When Mr. Hopkins declared that he and his associates had left behind "all compromise with realism," he flung that essential question nakedly at us and anyone moderately familiar with certain artistic tendencies of the day could have foretold the result. The mimetic function of art was to be reduced to a minimum. Mr. Jones himself could not have dreamed that it would quite cease from activity. Our eeriest and wildest imaginings still draw their elements from experience. His jagged boards cut by pointed arches have their ultimate origin in medieval architecture; the masks of his weird sisters derive, after all, from the lineaments of the human face. The imagination cannot work in the void, and abstract beauty is a contradiction in terms. What is the utmost, then, that the artist can do? He can strip art of one element of concreteness after another; he can get to an irreducible minimum; he can take this irreducible minimum and "stylicize" it. Thus he can get as far from realism as possible and land straight in a hard and shallow formalism. For these irreducible symbols have an ugly tendency to become as constant and as rigid as hieroglyphics. The rococo period also stripped life in art and shut up the residuum in symbols and substituted for the rough and beautiful multiformity of the world the gardens of Watteau and the meads of Pope.

The perfectly sincere intention of such an unwillingness to compromise with reality is to raise art to a higher significance, to omit everything that is not packed with meaning, to make a play, for instance, as Mr. Hopkins put it, "a play of all times and all people." But in this train of speculation there is involved a false analogy. If it were possible to drain art so wholly of the concrete and the fluctuating as to universalize its meaning in that bleak and literal sense, it would cease to be art and become mathematics. An algebraic formula expresses

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an exact and universal truth. But it is not a truth that will make the pulse quicken; it is not a truth that can be touched with hands. This ultra-symbolism may, with the utmost sobriety, be said to be flying into the face of Providence. Man is no abstract spirit. To make him typical is to traduce him. Nor is he merely clothed in his flesh and his world. He is embodied so and only so. He and his world interpenetrate each other. To tear the two asunder is to maim both beyond healing, and to rob both of significance by obliterating their essential characters. There can be nothing in art which was not first in life. Hence art is significant in proportion to the richness of its vital content in terms of flesh and gear and grass and stones and winds. Stick to the elemental, if you choose. Nakedness can be great, but not symbolic swathings about a core of nothingness. Life has an atmosphere which art can project. Abstract atmosphere does not exist. The most entrancing fragrance is still the fragrance of some earthly object. Particles of its material substance detach themselves and thud faintly against the olfactory nerve. We cannot smell anything unless there is something to smell. We cannot feel anything from art unless art is the expression of life in a concrete, recognizable embodiment.

This is no plea for historical accuracy or creeping correctness or a pedantic adherence to the Shakespearean text. It was, for instance, quite legitimate to divide "Macbeth" into three moral episodes centering respectively in the murder scene, the banquet-hall scene, and the sleep-walking scene. It was, indeed, a high and sensitive intelligence that set the play to this spiritual and artistic rhythm. But those scenes themselves with their heavy and monotonous coloring, their cubist lumber, their asymetrical polygons and lathe triangles, are dreary beyond measure. And they are dreary not because they mean only the essential but because, from the nature of things, they can mean nothing at all. At the end of the banquet-hall scene there is a single moment of human forlornness and of mortal ache. That moment could be felt because here, at least, candles burned and tables bore pewter cups and there arose the semblance of a habitation of man. But that image fades once more from the eye and the mind and Lady Macbeth falters, holding a pathetically real little lamp, among decorations so meaningless, because so unrelated to reality, that all the pity of her distracted soul cannot shield our nerves from the assault of the boat-like hulks in the foreground.

The final and supreme oddity of this production is that Macbeth, the "man possessed" of Mr. Hopkins's explanation, is impersonated by Mr. Lionel Barrymore as a creature of no tragic austerity, no vision of fatality, no splendor, and no gloom. He is rough, sordid, unintelligent, ignoble. He is not a hero caught in the toils of fate; he is a beast in a trap. The husky voice, the lumbering movement, the shifty vision, the tangled beard, the feeble exultation and ferocity all combine to project the idea of a common, heavy, spiritually soggy man who never approached the stature of his fate. Perhaps this is a legitimate interpretation of the murderous Scotch thane who, according to Holinshed, was always known to be "somewhat cruell of nature." Nor is it to be denied that Mr. Barrymore carries out his conception with an unrelenting consistency. But what conceivable relation could such a conception of Macbeth have been thought to sustain to the mystical abstractions which employed the mind of Mr. Hopkins and the eye of Mr. Jones? Miss Julia Arthur's Lady Macbeth, though feeble and subdued, does not, at least, wrench herself out of the frame of these eerie pictures and bring the whole decorative scheme tumbling down. Of the entire production, then, the final word must be that the best and strongest forces in our living theater, that fine intelligence and something not unlike genius, have been wasted here for the want of some close and scrupulous reflection on the character and the possibilities of the artistic process itself. One's consolation is that those forces are actually with us and that a single mistake cannot greatly enfeeble or diminish them.

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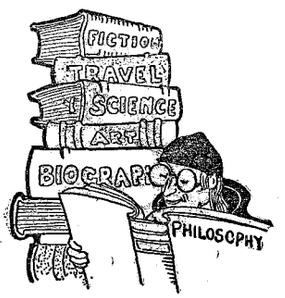

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International Relations Section

Santo Domingo's New Freedom

I. Rear Admiral Snowden's Proclamation

"AN initial step in the direction of the complete self-government of the Dominican people" was announced from Washington on December 24, 1920. The "initial step" was outlined in a proclamation by Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden, U. S. N., Military Governor of Santo Domingo, issued on December 23, and published the same day by *Listin Diario* (Santo Domingo City).

WHEREAS, The friendly purposes of the United States in the employment, pursuant to rights derived from the Treaty of 1907, of its military forces within the Dominican Republic for the restoration of public order and the protection of life and property have been substantially achieved; and

WHEREAS, It has always been the desire and intention of the Government of the United States to withdraw its aid as soon as it could do so consistently with the said purposes and as soon as the improved conditions in Santo Domingo to which the United States has sought to contribute should give promise of permanence;

Now, therefore, I, Thomas Snowden, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., Military Governor of the Dominican Republic, acting under the authority and by direction of the Government of the United States, declare and announce to all concerned that the Government of the United States believes the time has arrived when it may, with a due sense of its responsibility to the people of the Dominican Republic, inaugurate the simple processes of its rapid withdrawal from the responsibilities assumed in connection with Dominican affairs.

Announcement is, therefore, made that a commission of representative Dominican citizens will be appointed, the personnel of which will shortly be announced, to which it is my purpose to attach a technical adviser. This commission will be intrusted with the formulation of amendments to the Constitution and a general revision of the laws of the republic, including the drafting of a new election law. Such amendments to the Constitution and such laws, or such revision of existing laws, as may be recommended by the commission, upon approval by the Military Government in occupation, will be submitted to a constitutional convention and to the National Congress of the Dominican Republic, respectively.

THOMAS SNOWDEN, U. S. N.,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

II. The New Sedition Laws

The Rear Admiral's proclamation came two weeks after the promulgation of new laws against sedition and defamation announced in Executive Orders Nos. 572 and 573, published in *Listin Diario* for December 8.

Executive Order No. 572. Law against Sedition.

By virtue of the powers vested in the Military Government of Santo Domingo, the following Executive Order is promulgated to secure peace and order in the Dominican Republic:

ARTICLE 1. Public speeches, and the publication of articles in reviews, periodicals, pamphlets, dailies, placards, or in any other printed or written form, are prohibited in any of the following cases:

(a) When the speech or article contains anything which favors, aids, or recommends anarchy, or anything known under the name of bolshevism; or

(b) When it contains any expression, precept, or doctrine which advocates or proposes the overthrow by force of the Military Government, or resistance to any law or legal order of the same; or

(c) When it is so hostile to the Military Government, or the Government of the United States, or its policy or officials, civil or military, or when it criticizes them in such a form as to show the intent to provoke unrest, disorder, or revolt; or

(d) When it exposes or represents conditions existing in the Dominican Republic in such a form as to show intent to provoke disorder or revolt.

In carrying out this Article, the term *intention* will be interpreted in accordance with the temper or character of the article or speech and the usual interpretation of the terms employed.

ART. 2. The right of assembly and free speech will not be limited unless it is necessary in order to maintain the public peace.

ART. 3. Infractions of the present edict will be regarded as offenses against the Military Government, and its tribunals have the power to decide the cases which are subject to the disposition of this law. The author of a speech or article, the person who publishes it, and those who knowingly aid or instigate its editing, printing, or publication, will suffer the same penalty as those directly responsible for it, and there are also included those responsible for the administration of the review, periodical, daily, or other publication in which the article appears, or the one in charge of the meeting-place or hall in which the speech is made.

ART. 4. In addition to the fixed penalties, which can in no way be lessened, the review, daily, or other document, printed or written, which contains articles involving an infraction of this order will be prohibited or suspended; and the meeting-place or hall in which a speech is made which violates the provisions of this law will be closed.

ART. 5. Whoever violates any provision of this order will be subject to a fine of not more than $3,000 American gold, or public labor of from one month to five years, or both. The provisions of the Penal Code, regarding the penalty of public labor, will not apply to violations of this law.

ART. 6. Paragraphs 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Executive Order No. 385 [an order prohibiting publication of articles hostile to the Military Government] are revoked.

ART. 7. All laws or provisions of laws contrary to this law are revoked.

THOMAS SNOWDEN, Rear Admiral, U. S. N.,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

Executive Order No. 573. Law against Defamation.

By virtue of the powers vested in the Military Government of Santo Domingo, the following order is promulgated:

ARTICLE 1. Defamation and insult are judged as crimes according to definitions and penalties in this law.

ART. 2. Defamation or public insult directed against the Government of the United States of America, or any of its officials or administrators, will be punished by a penalty of not more than two years' imprisonment, or fine of $1,000, or both.

ART. 3. Defamation is the allegation or imputation of an act which attacks the honor or the reputation of the person or group to which it refers. Insult is any expression of affront, any insinuation or term of disrespect, which does not contain the imputation of an actual fact.

ART. 4. Defamation of any other representative, agent, or employee of the Government of the United States of America, or of the Military Government, will be punished by a fine of not more than $500, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or both.

ART. 5. Insinuations made against an official, representative, agent, or employee, whether by name or otherwise, do not constitute defamation or insult, when such insinuations are true. The person making the charges must prove the truth of his allegations and accusations.

ART. 6. Defamation or insult directed against an official or

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administrator, not identified by name or in any other way, will be considered as directed against the Government.

ART. 7. Persons committing offenses against this Executive Order will be tried and judged by the tribunals of the Military Government of Santo Domingo.

ART. 8. All laws or provisions of laws contrary to this order are revoked.

THOMAS SNOWDEN, Rear Admiral, U. S. N.,
Military Governor of Santo Domingo.

III. THE NATIONAL PROTEST

A protest by the National Dominican Union, a patriotic organization including almost all Dominican citizens in public life, was issued and published in *Listin Diario* on December 24, 1920, the day following the Admiral's proclamation. It recited the story of American intervention as Dominicans see it, and declared it would recognize no steps taken in the execution of the proclamation.

WHEREAS, The National Dominican Union was founded for the purpose of saving the Dominican people from the danger of exploitation;

WHEREAS, Its first and unalterable object is the restoration of the Dominican Republic to its former status of an absolutely free and independent state;

WHEREAS, On May 16, 1916, the United States landed military forces in the Dominican Republic, intervening contrary to international law;

WHEREAS, On November 29, 1916, the United States overturned by violence the Constitutional Government of the Dominican Republic, proclaiming the nation to be under military occupation, governed by the forces of the United States of America;

WHEREAS, The United States of America, in its Proclamation of 1916, in order to give an honest appearance to the violation of Dominican independence, claimed an infringement on the part of the Dominican Republic of obligations stipulated in the Dominico-American Convention of February 7, 1907;

WHEREAS, The United States of America, after having deceitfully deprived the Dominican Republic of all its armed forces, has kept the Dominican people subdued by force of bayonets for four years, although Santo Domingo at no time renounced its sovereignty nor accepted, directly or indirectly, the abusive authority of the occupying State, and although there has not passed a single day in which it did not protest against this foreign interference in its internal affairs, resisting and repulsing it with all the means at its disposal;

WHEREAS, On December 23, 1920, the United States of America issued another proclamation in which it again referred to supposed rights derived from the Convention of 1907, and expressed the desire to withdraw its support imposed upon the Dominican Republic without its consent by means of a commission of Dominican citizens, whose duty it was to reform the Constitution of the Republic, to amend its laws, and to enact an electoral law completely agreeable to the Military Occupational Government, such amendments and reforms to be finally submitted to a constitutional assembly and the National Congress, respectively;

WHEREAS, There is absolutely no just basis for military occupation and exploitation of the Dominican people by the United States of America, nor has that country any right to enact or revise laws, amend the Constitution, convoke electoral commissions, or subject the electoral power to the control of foreign armies;

WHEREAS, The Dominican Republic, in spite of the military occupation, is still a sovereign state, not recognizing, nor able to recognize, any political authority within its own territory, except those powers which have been granted in accordance with its own laws;

WHEREAS, The Dominican people, through their provincial assemblies, their National Union, and their national assemblies, have expressed the desire to accomplish the restoration of the Dominican Republic with all the inalienable attributes of its absolute sovereignty, and without any reduction of its territory;

WHEREAS, The proposals expressed by the United States of America in its Proclamation of December 23, 1920, for the amendment of the Constitution and the revision of the laws of the Dominican Republic with the approval of the American military forces, which hold the country in subjugation, constitute an order given by one who has no right to give it, and deprive the Dominican people of everything in their fundamental institutions which serves today as a protection and defense against the imperial aims of the United States Government;

WHEREAS, The Dominican people, whose virility and dignity have been irrefutably tested by history, do not need or accept protectors, nor do they feel disposed to tolerate without protest any arbitrary and despotic foreign voice within their domestic walls;

WHEREAS, The day is already at hand when the Dominican people will reap the benefits of their vigorous resistance, and the United States of America will retire convinced of its error, because the Latin-American republics, Europe itself, and even a very considerable part of the American people, have become aware of the international injury perpetrated by the Government of that powerful nation against Dominican territory and institutions; and the voices of these other republics are raised against this abominable crime, and they are knocking with ever-increasing force at the gates of the temple of supreme international justice;

Therefore, The National Dominican Union protests, in the name of the Dominican people, against the Proclamation issued by the United States of America in the territory of the Dominican Republic, on December 23, 1920, signed by Thomas Snowden, called Military Governor of the Dominican Republic, and firm to the end resists all the declarations, announcements, orders, and nominations contained in the said Proclamation, and declares to the United States of America and to the whole world that the Dominican people maintain intact their supreme aim for the immediate restoration of the Dominican Republic with all the inalienable attributes of its absolute sovereignty and without reduction of its territory, and declare substantially null and void all the acts accomplished by the use of force or under the compulsion of the Military Government in the execution of the purposes enumerated in the Proclamation of December 23, 1920.

[Signed] DON EMILIANO TEJERE, President, etc., etc.
Santo Domingo, R. D., December 24, 1920

IV. A PROVINCIAL PROTEST

Even more vigorous was the protest of the provincial *junta* of the National Dominican Union in San Pedro de Macoris, issued on January 20, 1921. It repeated the conditions set by the Dominicans appointed by Admiral Snowden and pronounced them inadequate.

WHEREAS, In accordance with the Proclamation of the Military Government of December 23, 1920, and of the so-called Wilson Plan, Rear Admiral Snowden has invited a group of Dominican citizens to form the Commission of Representative Dominicans charged with the preparation of amendments to the Constitution and with a general revision of the laws of the republic, with the assistance of a technical adviser from the United States;

WHEREAS, The Dominican citizens invited by Rear Admiral Snowden to form the aforesaid Commission have accepted this invitation subject to the following conditions:

(a) That the American technical adviser be suppressed, or that he function as a counselor of the Military Government, not of the Commission;

(b) That the Commission be composed of not more than

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seven members, including the president of the Supreme Court of Justice, Sr. Rafael Justino Castillo; and

(c) That in case of disagreement between the Commission and the Military Government regarding drafts of laws drawn up by the former and drafts prepared by the latter, both drafts shall be submitted to the Constituent Assembly and to the National Congress of the republic, so that these may decide;

WHEREAS, The conditions of acceptance set by the Dominican citizens asked by Rear Admiral Snowden to form the Commission of Representative Dominicans do not safeguard the Dominican people from the dangers to which execution of the Proclamation of the Military Government made on December 23, 1920, called the Wilson Plan, subject it;

(a) Because these conditions leave intact the declaration made by the Military Government in its proclamation that the American intervention in Santo Domingo is based upon rights derived from the Dominican-American Convention of 1907;

(b) Because these conditions leave intact the indirect assertion made by the Military Government in its proclamation that life and property in the republic were not effectively safeguarded before the intervention;

(c) Because these conditions do not prevent Rear Admiral Snowden abrogating the right of the Dominican executive to function prior to the Dominican National Congress;

(d) Because these conditions permit elections to be held in the republic under an electoral law promulgated by the Military Government and under the influence of the bayonets of the intervening power;

(e) Because these conditions recognize a right which the intervening power assumes to introduce reforms in our Constitution and in general to revise our laws;

(f) Because these conditions do not give the Commission of Representative Dominicans the power to see to it that its draft laws and reforms are accepted integrally by the Constituent Assembly and by the National Congress of the republic elected under the influence of the bayonets of the intervening Power;

WHEREAS, If the Commission of Representative Dominicans referred to in the Proclamation of the Military Government of December 23, 1920, be formed, even under the conditions noted above, it will have a double character as assistant to the Military Governor and as intermediary between him and a Constituent Assembly and a Dominican National Congress, in respect to reforms and amendments of the Constitution and to the laws of the republic and approval of them; and in such a double capacity as assistant and intermediary the Commission would assume no responsibility to the Dominican people;

WHEREAS, Once the Commission is formed under these conditions, and once the draft laws and reforms prescribed in the proclamation and in the Wilson Plan have been elaborated, Rear Admiral Snowden will call upon the Dominican people to elect the Constituent Assembly and the National Congress of the republic charged with the approval of such laws and reforms; and these elections will take place under the influence of North American bayonets, and that persons are sure to be elected who are pleasing to the intervening Power and disposed to accept laws and reforms perfectly adapted to the imperialist projects of the United States in Santo Domingo;

WHEREAS, Once these laws and reforms are approved by the Constituent Assembly and the National Congress of the republic such laws will seem to have been made and agreed to by the Dominican people even though they may partition its territory and derogate the attributes of its sovereignty;

WHEREAS, In such circumstances the Dominican people would lose the rights which it has so tenaciously defended during the four years of the occupation, and would be reduced to the condition of a protectorate or slave people subject to the United States of America;

Therefore, the junta of the Dominican National Union of the province of San Pedro de Macoris resolves:

That it shall declare publicly that it protests formally against the formation of any Commission of Representative Dominicans which, with or without conditions, would be ready to cooperate in the execution of the proclamation of the Military Government of December 23, 1920, and of the so-called Wilson Plan; that it repudiates all acts of such a Commission and reserves its public rights; and that it invites all Dominican citizens resident in the province of San Pedro de Macoris to deny their cooperation in executing the proclamation of the Military Government of December 23, 1920, called the Wilson Plan, with or without conditions.

DR. AYBAR, President; ENRIQUE VALDES, Vice-President; GUSTAVO JULIO HENRIQUEZ, F. TAVARES, JR., Secretaries; F. A. KIDD, Treasurer; SANTIAGO LAMELA, FRANCISCO CORDERO, C. M. GUERRA, Members of the Executive Committee.

San Pedro de Macoris, January 21, 1921

V. LABOR'S APPEAL

Representatives of Dominican labor unions on December 10, 1920, addressed an appeal to Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, the president of the Dominican Republic, removed and superseded by the American military authorities, who is working for Dominican independence while living in exile. The text is taken from *Listin Diario* of December 10, 1920.

To the President of the Republic,
DR. FRANCISCO HENRIQUEZ Y CARVAJAL:

The workers and common people unite with their fellow-countrymen in the cry for the independence and liberty of their beloved nation.

The local federation of labor, which represents all of the workers' unions, adds its voice to the appeal for the restoration of national sovereignty formerly recognized by all civilized nations.

The workers, the Dominican people, offer you another testimony of their feeling, for you to set before the world as a proof that there is not one of us who does not long for liberty.

We greet you on behalf of the nation.

[Signed] MANUEL LEONOR, president of the Marine Union;
FERMIN SILIE, president of the Carpenters Union;
ENRIQUE REMIREZ, president of the Tobacco-Workers Union;
FRANCISCO TEJEDA, president of the Chauffeurs Union;
——— DELANOY, president of the Tailors Union;
FERNANDO GAUTIER, president of the Bricklayers Union;
MAXI MEYER, president of the Shoemakers Union;
ELISEO GRAZAL, president of the Ironworkers Union;
RICARDO GONZALES, president of the Bakers Union;
FRANCISCO COS, president of the Barbers Union;
TIMOTEO SANTIAGO, president of the Painters Union;
D. BASSA, president of the Teamsters Union.

Irish Women and the Republican Army

AN important national organization of women in Ireland has issued and spread broadcast the following proclamation supporting the activities of the Irish Republican Army:

Ireland and England are engaged in a warfare in which England is the aggressor.

Irishwomen look to the Irish Republican Army to protect their lives and to defend their liberties, and feel the same pride in their national army as do the women of other countries in theirs.

It is an army of volunteers composed of the manhood of the nation from the age of 18 who have enrolled themselves for the defense of their country.

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In 1916 they fought for the establishment of the Republic and, though overwhelmingly outnumbered, the stand they made won the world's attention and rallied the majority of the Irish people to the Republican standard.

In the General Election in 1918 the people declared, unmistakably, for a Republic.

Early in 1919 the Republic Government (Dáil Eireann) was established and began to function. The British Government persistently ignored the free vote of the Irish people, and, not only refused to evacuate Ireland, but began more aggressive measures against the people.

There was only one course for the Irish Republican Army as for any national army: to continue to protect the lives and liberties of the citizens and to carry out the decrees of the duly elected representatives of the people.

In all they have done we, the women of Ireland, are with them and will be till the end.

We repudiate the calumnies of our enemies.

We will not tolerate the imputation that our heroic soldiers are a "murder-gang."

We rank with the world's bravest our men who fight against tremendous odds in face of the resources of an empire.

We glory in their heroism under torture and in their deeds of valor in the field.

We know that Ireland's honor is safe in their hands.

The enemy violates all rules of civilized warfare by torturing and hanging prisoners of war and by refusing humane treatment to the wounded.

Our men, in spite of the difficulties entailed by guerrilla tactics, adhere to the laws of civilization and humanity.

The proclamation of martial law (12th December, 1920) states that it is a crime involving the death penalty to carry arms or to harbor anyone doing so.

"(b) After the 27th December, 1920, any unauthorized person found in possession of arms, ammunition, or explosives will be liable on conviction by a military court to suffer death.

"(d) Note well—That a state of armed insurrection exists, that any person taking part therein or harboring any person who has taken part therein, or procuring, inviting, aiding, or abetting any person to take part therein is guilty of levying war against His Majesty the King, and is liable on conviction by a military court to suffer death."

The women of Ireland consider it a crime for any young Irishman of military age *not* to carry arms in the defense of his country, and that it is an even greater crime for any person of Irish blood to refuse to harbor and assist our brave soldiers.

Irishwomen scorn a proclamation that would make them traitors to their country. They will prove no less true to their soldiers than Nurse Cavell to England's.

For the Library at Cork

AN appeal has been made by citizens of Cork for assistance in restoring the public library in that city, which was destroyed by British Black and Tans in December. The statement issued by the library committee is as follows:

On the morning of Sunday, December 12, 1920, the only free library available for the 100,000 citizens of the city and environs of Cork was burned to the ground—the last victim of the great holocaust in which the City Hall and the principal business houses also perished.

The destruction of a library large or small—whether it be in Alexandria, Louvain, or Cork—always appears a crime against humanity, a violation of the sacred neutrality of the world of letters, art, and scholarship. Our little library with its 14,000 volumes, the slow garnering of twenty-eight years, could lay no claim to valuable manuscripts or incunabula, though many of our Irish printed books were very rare. Yet the library, besides providing a newsroom containing all the leading papers and periodicals, recorded during the past year 100,000 issues of books for reading and reference. Our books are now a heap of ashes; our library but four bare walls.

We have secured temporary premises. But the finances of the city are, for obvious reasons, unable to render us much assistance; and even in normal times our revenue from the local rate did not exceed £780. We are, therefore, forced to issue this urgent appeal for books to reestablish our library, which was patronized almost exclusively by working men and women, serious young students, and also school children, for whom we had a special juvenile section.

Gifts of books, large or small, will be very gratefully received. A special book-plate, inscribed with the name of the donor, will be put on every book. As we must rebuild from the beginning, practically every class of book will be useful. Irish language and history, general literature and history, dictionaries and works of reference, religion, poetry, drama, and art, science, technology, economics, sociology, fiction, juvenile literature, sports, travel, and fine arts.

While desirous of competing in no way with the urgent call for funds now issued by the Cork Relief Committee, we confidently appeal to all those who, without distinction of creed, race, or class, wish to help in this humanitarian and educational reparation. We appeal in particular to all those *who* are members of the great world of letters and art—dramatists, poets, authors, editors, scholars, teachers, clergymen—to contribute, were it only a single volume each, to our peaceful endeavor to reestablish a free public library in our devastated city. Educational, literary, scientific, and charitable institutions may also, we hope, be led to send us books. And there must be very many individual booklovers who will be only too happy to spare from their libraries a few volumes to contribute to the happiness and education of others less fortunate.

We earnestly request editors especially to bring this appeal to the notice of their readers.

Signed on behalf of the Library Committee:

THOMAS O. DENNEHY, B.A., Chairman.
JAMES O'HAYES, M.A.
ALFRED O'RAHIELY, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D.,
Registrar, University College, Cork.

To Save the Intellectual Life of Russia

AN appeal for aid for Russian scientists and men of letters has been issued by a British committee composed of such writers and scholars as H. G. Wells, Sir Israel Gollancz, Sir Richard Gregory, Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, and others. It is hoped by the committee that Americans as well as Englishmen will respond to the appeal.

We have recently been able to get some direct communication from men of science and men of letters in North Russia. Their condition is one of great privation and limitation. They share in the consequences of the almost complete economic exhaustion of Russia; like most people in that country they are ill-clad, underfed, and short of such physical necessities as make life tolerable.

Nevertheless a certain amount of scientific research and some literary work still goes on. The Bolsheviki were at first regardless and even in some cases hostile to these intellectual workers, but the Bolshevik Government has apparently come to realize something of the importance of scientific and literary work to the community, and the remnant—for deaths among them have been very numerous—the remnant of these people, the flower of the mental life of Russia, has now been gathered together into two special rationing organizations which insure at least the bare necessities of life for them.

These organizations have their headquarters in two buildings known as the House of Science and the House of Literature and Art. Under the former we note such great names

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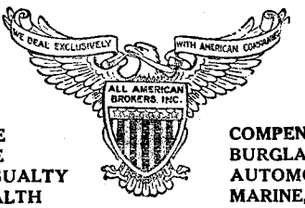

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February 17, 1921.

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as those of Pavlov the physiologist and Nobel prizeman, Karpinsky the geologist, Borodin the botanist, Belopolsky the astronomer, Tagantzev the criminologist, Oldenburg the orientalist and permanent secretary of the Petrograd Academy of Science, Koni, Bechterev, Latishev, Morozov, and many others familiar to the whole scientific world.

Several of these scientific men have been interviewed and affairs discussed with them, particularly as to whether anything could be done to help them. There were many matters in which it would be possible to assist them, but upon one in particular they laid stress. Their thought and work is greatly impeded by the fact that they have seen practically no European books or publications since the Revolution. This is an inconvenience amounting to real intellectual distress. In the hope that this condition may be relieved by an appeal to British scientific workers, Professor Oldenburg formed a small committee and made a comprehensive list of book and publications needed by the intellectual community in Russia if it is to keep alive and abreast of the rest of the world.

It is, of course, necessary to be assured that any aid of this kind provided for literary and scientific men in Russia would reach its destination. The Bolshevik Government in Moscow, the Russian trade delegations in Reval and London, and our own authorities have therefore been consulted, and it would appear that there will be no obstacles to the transmission of this needed material to the House of Science and the House of Literature and Art. It can be got through by special facilities even under present conditions.

Many of the publications named in the Oldenburg list will have to be bought, the costs of transmission will be considerable, and accordingly the undersigned have formed themselves into a small committee for the collection and administration of a fund for the supply of scientific and literary publications and possibly if the amount subscribed permits of it, of other necessities, to these Russian savants and men of letters.

We hope to work in close association with the Royal Society and other leading learned societies in this matter. The British Science Guild has kindly granted the Committee permission to use its address.

We appeal for subscriptions and ask that checks should be made out to the treasurer, C. Hagberg Wright, LL.D., and sent to The British Committee for Aiding Men of Letters and Science in Russia, British Science Guild Offices, 6 John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2

Russia and the Concessionnaires

AS a result of the number of definite proposals for the exploitation of the natural resources of Russia made to the Russian Soviet Government by European countries and the United States, the Council of Peoples Commissars states that it is determined to make public the terms on which concessions may be granted to sound foreign industrial organizations. The text of the decree which follows is taken from the Russian *Press Review* for December 1.

1. The concessionnaire will be allowed a share in the production, as provided by the contract, with a right to export same abroad.

2. In cases, where special technical improvements will be introduced on a large scale, the concessionnaire will be granted trading privileges (as the supply of machines, special contracts for large orders, etc.).

3. In accordance with the nature and conditions of the concession, long term concessions will be granted to secure the full compensation to the concessionnaire for his risk and for the technical equipment invested in the concession.

4. The Government of the Soviet Republic guarantees that the property invested by the concessionnaire in the enterprise will not be liable to nationalization, confiscation, or requisition.

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5. The concessionnaire will be granted the right to engage workers and officials for his enterprises on the territory of the Soviet Republic on condition that he will observe the laws of the Republic concerning labor, or a special contract would be entered into guaranteeing the workers and officials certain conditions and protecting their lives and health.

6. The Government of the Soviet Republic guarantees the concessionnaire against any one-sided modification of conditions of concessions by regulations and decrees of the Government.

President of the Council of Peoples Commissaries,
V. ULIANOV (LENIN)
Head of Department, BONCH-BRUYEVICH
Secretary, L. FOTIEVA
Moscow, Kremlin, November 23, 1920

The actual attitude of the Soviet Government toward granting concessions to foreigners is suggested in a recent speech of Lenin in which, according to the *Economic Review* (London) for December 24, he states that America's desire to purchase Kamchatka makes it evident that she wishes to obtain a military base against Japan. Lenin continued:

We should only lease the territory for ten years because there is a danger that Japan might rob us of Kamchatka. In any case we could not exploit the territory with the resources at our disposal. Moreover, we are leasing several million dessiatines of forest, divided up like a chess board, in the Archangel government. In the intervening and non-leased districts our workers can learn Western technical methods. The granting of concessions betokens not peace but war in another shape. If the capitalists deceive us and try to circumvent our laws we have our extraordinary commission for combating speculation, and this will know how to defeat their machinations. Should war result the foreigners' property will remain ours. The Revolution progresses on a zigzag path. We have no intention of confining ourselves to force in order to conquer the bourgeoisie.

The new Far Eastern Government at Chita, claiming jurisdiction over all territory east of Lake Baikal, including presumably the peninsula of Kamchatka, takes a position definitely opposed to concessions to foreigners, or at least to foreign Powers. In a speech to members of the Chita Government, the Prime Minister, Mr. Krasnoschekov, outlined the foreign policy of the Far Eastern Republic.

The main task of our Government is outlined in the paragraph of our Declaration relating to the integrity of our territory. Therefore any attempt by any Power to gain a part of our territory will meet with the most determined resistance. No territory will be ceded by the Government and no special privilege or rights will be given to any of the Powers. We also deem it our duty to state that no extra-territorial rights will be granted to any country. . . . We are determined to establish here an independent state. All rumors in China and Japan that the Far Eastern Republic is only a screen concealing Soviet Russia and nothing better than a farce, are entirely groundless.

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